
MEDIEVAL INDIA

a miscellany

volume three

4749
**DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY**



MEDIEVAL INDIA — A MISCELLANY
VOLUME THREE

Centre of Advanced Study
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ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY

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Medieval India

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VOLUME THREE

*Centre of Advanced Study
Department of History
Aligarh Muslim University*



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OURSELVES

We may reiterate the objective and scope of our publication. We interpret the term 'Medieval' in its widest sense, i.e. we begin our study from the time of the break-up of the Rajput States and the foundation of the centralised Sultanate of the Turks, who made attempts to bring the different parts of the country under a unified political, as also economic, system. We extend our study down to the period when the British rule was established and the country was drawn into the orbit of modern industrial civilisation in the form of a colony of British Imperialism. Our study, therefore, includes movements and institutions which the Europeans call 'oriental,' i.e. those whose main source of inspiration did not come from the industrial civilisation of the West but which may be regarded essentially as a continuation from the pre-industrial era. Thus, for example, literary movements in the kingdom of Awadh, though traditionally belonging to the British period of our history, fall within the scope of the study undertaken in this Miscellany.

We use the term 'India' in its historical, i.e. pre-partition sense, and include in our study the history of areas and territories which are now in Pakistan.

We aspire to study, and to promote research in the history of the Indian people, in all its diversity and manifold aspects — political, social, economic and cultural—and to discover any relationship or correspondence between these different aspects. Our bias, if any such bias is permissible, will essentially be in favour of understanding the life and condition of the common people.

We seek to lay a special emphasis on the study and publication of source material. We hope to publish as many of the unpublished sources (text, translation or analytical summary) as space would permit.

—Editor

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'ABD AL-QUDDUS GANGOHI (1456-1537 A.D.) : THE PERSONALITY AND ATTITUDES OF A MEDIEVAL INDIAN SUFI.*

The emphasis put in recent historical writing upon the individual aspects of the activities of medieval Indian Sufis has induced the present writer to attempt, within the compass of a short monograph, to present a more rounded study of the diverse and sometimes conflicting activities of a single Sufi Shaykh. 'Abd al-Quddus Gangohi is generally held to be in the second rather than the first rank of Indian Muslim religious figures. His theological writings, particularly the *Rushd-nama* of which a detailed examination is presented in Section (vi) of this study, are repetitious and somewhat lacking in intellectual distinction. He was a minor rather than a major poet in Persian and in Hindi and the role which he played as a recorder of Hindi verses current at the end of the fifteenth century is also of some importance to the historian of literature. His recorded behaviour does not show outstanding nobility of character, or wideness of human sympathies or fortitude, although such qualities may be discerned in other Indian Sufi Shaykhs when they have been stripped of the adornments of hagiographic piety. 'Abd al-Quddus' life and personality are worth examining in detail because he is a representative figure, in whom many of the sometimes conflicting tendencies and aspects of Indian Islam find expression, and about whom we have copious and contemporary, therefore fairly reliable biographical material. In his behaviour and in the contradictions in it we see at work a number of the processes of adaptation and conflict generated by the Muslim presence in medieval India.

(i) *Life of 'Abd al-Quddus :*

Shaykh 'Abd al-Quddus bin Shaykh Muhammad Isma'il bin Shaykh safi al-din Hanafi Ghaznavi Chishti Gangohi was among the most prominent Sufi Shaykhs of the Sabiri branch of the Chishti *sil-sila*; and indeed of late fifteenth and early sixteenth century North Indian Sufism. Biographical notices of him are common in later Sufi *tadhkiras*;¹

*The transliteration system followed by the author, though different from the one adopted for the *Miscellany*, has not been disturbed.

1. 'Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith Dehlavi, *Akhbar al-akhyar*, Dehli, Mujtab'i Press 1309, pp. 215-7; Ghulam Sarvar, *Khazinat al-asfiyya*, Kanpur, Naval Kishor Press 1332/1914, I, pp. 416-8.

and a copious collection of anecdotes regarding him was compiled in his lifetime and immediately after his death by his son and successor (*sajjada-nashin*), Shaykh Rukn al-din Quddusi.² A few years ago a lengthy modern biography in Urdu, which draws upon some minor inaccessible sources was published by a descendant of the Shaykh.³

'Abd al-Quddus was born near Rudawli in the modern Barabanki district of the U.P.,⁴ probably in the year 860/1456,⁵ in a family who, although they had Sufi allegiances of the type common in medieval India, were more distinguished as '*ulama*' expounding the traditional Islamic sciences.⁶ They claimed descent from the Imam Abu Hanifa and were said to have migrated from Ghazni to Dehli. The connexions of the family appear to have been with the metropolitan city of Dehli itself until, probably during the disorders of the late fourteenth century, one Shaykh Nizam al-din moved eastwards towards the rising power of Jawnpur. This Shaykh Nizam al-din is described as a *murid* (Sufi disciple) of Mawlana Khvajagi, who was a *khalifa* (successor) of Shaykh Nasir al-din Mahmud 'Chiragh-i Dehli', the principal Sufi of the Chishti *silsila* in the capital city in the middle years of

2. Rukn al-din Quddusi, *Lata'if-i Quddusi*, Delhi, Muftaba'i Press 1311/1894, hereafter cited as *Lata'if*. The portion composed by Rukn al-din was begun in the Lifetime of his father and completed two months after his death, in Sh'aban 944/1538—see p. 71. Further anecdotes were added by an *Afghan murid* Dattu Sarvani, evidently around 953-4/1546-7, see Simon Digby, "Dreams and reminiscences of Dattu Sarvani, a sixteenth century Indo-Afghan soldier" in *The Indian economic and social history review*, II 1965, pp. 52-3—57.

3. I'jaz al-Haqq Quddusi, *Shaykh 'Abd al-Quddus awr un ki ta'limat* Karachi, Academy of educational research 1961 hereafter as I. Quddusi.

4. H. R. Nevill, *Barabanki: a gazetteer. District gazetteers of the United Provinces*, Vol. XLVIII, Allahabad 1904 pp. 258-60 Rudanli (Rudawli) is a few miles South of the present course of the river Gogra, about 38 miles east from Barabanki, lying close to the main roads from Lucknow and Barabanki to Fyzabad. It is described as "a large Musalman town" which in 1901 possessed 3292 houses.

5. I. Quddusi, p. 168, citing *Adhkar al-abrar*, possibly the Urdu translation of Muhammad Ghawthi's *Gulzar-i abrar*; but no mention of his date of birth is found in the manuscript of Ghawthi's *Gulzar-i abrar* in the John Rylands Library, Manchester (Lindesiana No. 185), f. 152 A. The date 860 A.H. for his birth is not inherently improbable. At his death 'Abd al Quddus would have been 84 Muslim or 81 solar years old. His eldest son was 11 years old in 896/1491—see *Lata'if*, p. 31 'Abd al-Quddus would therefore have been 25 years old when the latter was born.

6. The difference between these two Muslim traditions is depicted in *Lata'if*, pp. 6-7. When 'Abd al-Quddus took to the ecstatic way of life of the Sufis, one Shaykh Fath Allah objected saying, "You are the son of a *danishmand* (man of learning) Shaykh Isma'il and the grandson of a *danishmand* Qadi Safi al-din, and the brother of a *danishmand*, 'Abd al-Samad. His mother also complained in similar terms—see p. 7, cf. also p. 9.

the fourteenth century. Shaykh Nizam al-din came eastwards to Jawnpur in the company of the celebrated 'alim Qazi Shihab al-Din Dawlatabadi, author of the *tafsir Bahr-i mavvaj*.⁷ The son of Shaykh Nizam al-din, Shaykh Nasir al-din was given lands at Phagawli, described as very close to Rudawli,⁸ by Sultan Ibrahim Shah Sharqi of Jawnpur (r. 804-40/1402-36). The lands were enjoyed by his son Shaykh Safi al-din and his grandson Shaykh Muhammad Isma'il. The last married the daughter of one Qazi Khan, sister of Qazi Daniyal, both of whom filled the office of 'Hakim' of Rudawli; by this lady he had four sons, of whom the third was 'Abd al-Quddus'.⁹

Shaykh 'Abd al-Quddus, as a member of a family of 'alims, began the curriculum of formal Islamic learning: but he had not pursued this very far when he was overtaken by the love of God, and destroyed the copy of the *Kafiyya*, with Qazi Shihab al-din Dawlatabadi's commentary, which he had been studying.¹⁰ His ability later in life to teach and write upon the '*ulum-i zahiri* (i.e. the non-Sufi branches of Muslim theological learning) was ascribed to divine

7. *Akhbar al-akhyar*, pp. 175-6: Storey, *Bio-bibliographical Survey*, I, i, pp. 9-10. Muhammad Ghawthi, *Gulzar-i Abrar*, folio 88A-B.

8. So in I. Quddusi; the name is not to be found in the Barabanki Gazetteer.

9. This account of the immediate ancestors of 'Abd al-Quddus is taken from I. Quddusi, pp. 145-68, who gives as his source a Ms. entitled *Anwar al-safa*, which is evidently a late nineteenth century composition, —see p. 167, n. 1. All the details here quoted are plausible. But Nizam al-din and his son Nasir al-din are stated to have come from Ghaznin to Dehli in the reign of Ala' al-din Khilji (695-715/1295-1315—see p. 145). This is about a century before the same pair moved to Jawnpur. Shaykh Muhammad Isma'il is stated to have been born in 789 A.H. (p. 162) and to have died in 860 (p. 167). In this case four generations would have travelled together on the move from Delhi to Jawnpur; and Muhammad Isma'il would have been seventy one Muslim years of age in the year of the birth of 'Abd al-Quddus. Moreover, though he is there stated to have died in the same year, in the immediately preceding anecdote he is said to have been seventy eight years old. An anecdote in *Lata'if*, p. 5 (also quoted by I. Quddusi, pp. 168-9) also shows that he was alive at the time when his sons were able to read and write: the following anecdote, *Lata'if* p. 6, refers to 'Abd al-Quddus talking to his father: but he evidently died before 'Abd al-Quddus abandoned his studies, *ibid*, p. 7. Ghawthi describes 'Abd al-Quddus as the son of Shaykh Safi al-din's daughter (*Gulzar-i Abrar*, f. 152 A). This is incorrect as Shaykh 'abd al-Quddus gives his pedigree on several occasions as 'Abd al-Quddus, son of Isma'il, son of Safi, the Hanafi, the Ghaznavi" (*Anwar al-uyun*, Lakhnau, *Gulzar-i Muhammadi Press* 1296, p. 4: letters to Babur and Humayun, see I. Quddusi, pp. 453, 457). For an anecdote concerning the maternal uncle and maternal grandfather of 'Abd al-Quddus, Qazi Daniyal and Qazi Khan and their relations with Ahmad 'Abd al-Haqq see *Anwar al-uyun*, p. 108.

10. *Lata'if*, p. 6.

inspiration.¹¹ After being turned back by a *darvesh* whom he met upon the road when he attempted to leave Rudawli, Shaykh 'Abd al-Quddus went to the local *khanqah* founded by Shaykh Ahmad 'Abd al-Haqq (d. 837/1434).¹² 'Abd al-Quddus himself gives a rather different account of the immediate circumstances which led him to enter the *khanqah* of Shaykh Ahmad 'Abd al-Haqq, stating that he left his family while suffering the pangs of human love.¹³ Ahmad 'Abd al-Haqq belonged to a relatively obscure line of the Chishti *silsila*, which has however attained great prominence in later Indian Sufism. His spiritual pedigree was traced with only two links—through Shaykh Jalal al-din Kabir al Awliya' Panipati and Shaykh Shams al-din Turk Panipati—to Shaykh 'Ala al-din 'Ali Ahmad Sabir, identified with a *khalifa* of Shaykh Farid al-din 'Ganj-i shakar' Chishti of Ajodhan (1175-1265 A.D.), a central figure in the religious traditions of the Delhi Sultanate.¹⁴ The *shajara* is weak, in that the number of links appears too few, probably in the connexion between Jalal al-din and Farid al-din.¹⁵

11. *Lata'if*, p. 8. Details in the anecdote suggest that 'Abd al-Quddus in later life progressively mastered the studies which he had neglected in youth. This was apparent also to Ghawthi (*Gulzar-i abrār*, f. 152 B).

12. *Ilahdiya Chishti, Siyar al-aqtab* Lakhnau, Naval Kishor Press 1306/1889, p. 222: I. Quddusi, p. 138.

13. *Anwar al-'uyun*—p. 108. *dar napak 'ishq uftada bud* : but possibly in *napak na* may be a copyists' error, in which case there is no conflict with the account of the *Lata'if*.

14. For Shaykh Farid al-din, see K. A. Nizami, *Life and Times of Shaikh Farid-u'd-din Ganj-i-shakar*, Aligarh 1955. For the identification of 'Ala al-din 'Ali Ahmad Sabir with 'Ali Sabir, *ibid.*, p. 78.

15. *Lata'if*, p. 29, gives the complete *shajara*. 'Abd al-Quddus confirms that Ahmad 'Abd al-Haqq was the disciple of Jalal al-din Panipati, *Anwar al-'uyun*, pp. 14-8. Some seventeenth century and later *tadhkiras* give 765/1364 as the date of death of Jalal al-din Panipati, which is improbable in view of the fact that Ahmad 'Abd al-Haqq was still alive in 837; (the date 765 is found in *Khazinat al-asfiyya* I, p. 365, also. I. Quddusi—p. 120.) However the *Siyar al-aqtab* does not mention the year of Jalal al-din Panipati's death but makes it clear that it occurred after that of his namesake Jalal al-Din Makh dum-i-Jahanian, which it mentions occurred in 785 A.H. (1384 A. D., p. 213). 'Abd al-Quddus in his narrative, which is much the earliest source, refers to the flight of Jalal al-din Panipati and Ahmad 'Abd al-Haqq before a major Mongol invasion which devastated Dehli, *Anwar al-'uyun* p. 21: this can only be the invasion of Amir Taimur in 801/1398.

Of Jalal al-din Panipati's predecessors, Shaykh Shams al-din Turk Panipati is said in seventeenth century *tadhkiras* to have died in 715/1315 or 718/1318 : the discrepancy is noted in *Khazinat al-asfiyya* I, 324. The same work, depending on the seventeenth century Ma 'arij al-wilayat gives 690/1290 as the year of the death of 'Ala al-din 'Ali Ahmad Sabir, *ibid.* I, p. 319. I. Quddusi wrongly transcribes 696, p. 112: while the *Siyar al-aqtab* states that he died in 664/1265-6, p. 184.

Shaykh Ahmad 'Abd al-Haqq was from a family claiming Faruqi descent, who had evidently settled at Rudawli in the second half of the fourteenth century.¹⁶ In his youth he left Rudawli to go and study in Delhi, but he was overtaken by mystical love and soon abandoned these formal Islamic studies.¹⁷ He then became a disciple of Shaykh Jalal al-din at Panipat.¹⁸ He had visited Bhakkar and Sind and he resided for a while at Sannam in the Panjab, evidently in the last years of the fourteenth century.¹⁹ He returned eastwards in the disturbances which followed the invasion of Amir Taimur (801/1398) and visited Pandwa, the capital of the Sultans of Bengal.²⁰ After a sojourn of some months in Bihar during which his spiritual claims and his reputation as a *shaykh* increased, he returned home to Rudawli.²¹

He was offered by Sultan Ibrahim Shah Sharqi a grant of four villages and 1,000 *bighas* of land near Rudawli, but evidently refused this.²² At some later date he visited Jawnpur, where through the agency of Qazi Shihab al-din Dawlatabadi (whose connexion with the family of 'Abd al-Quddus has already been mentioned) a meeting

'Abd al-Haqq, writing at the close of the sixteenth century, doubted the identity of this Shaykh, buried at Kalyar near Rurki (Rourkee), with the 'Ali Sabir mentioned as a *khilafa* of Shaykh Farid in the fourteenth century Chishti *tadhkira* of Amir Khvurd (*Siyar al-awliya'* Dehli, Muhibb-i Hind Press 1302, p. 185 : See *Akhbar al-akhyar*, p. 69. But there is no doubt that 'Abd al-Quddus and Ahmad 'Abd al-Haqq saw themselves as Shaykhs of the Chisti *silasila*, and, in default of a more obvious connexion, the identification is not improbable. However the *shajara* given in the *Lata'if*, as well as in the *Siyar al-aqtab* and most subsequent works, has suspiciously few generations between Shaykh Jalal al-din and Shaykh Farid aldin.

16. The *Anwar al-'uyun* does not mention where Ahmad 'Abd al-Haqq was born or brought up previous to his departure for Dehli; but a reference to his turning home (*su'e vatan-i khvud*) after his visit to Bengal implies that he was raised in Rudwali (p. 26). 'Abd al-Haqq Dehlavi was clear that Rudawali was his place of birth (*mawlid*) as well as of burial (*murqad*), *Akhbar al-akhyar*, p. 182. I. Quddusi gives from an unspecified source the additional information that his father's name was 'Umar and his grandfather's Da'ud. The family claimed Faruqi descent. His grandfather had professed *bay'at* to Shaykh Nasir al-din 'Chiragh-i Dehli, and had received instruction from him. Later he settled in Rudawli. (Quddusi, p. 126).

17. *Anwar al-'uyun*, pp. 11-4.

18. Ibid. pp. 14-8.

19. Ibid 70, 19-20.

20. Ibid. pp. 22-5, For the visit of Shaykh Safi al-din to Pandwa see I. Quddusi, p. 159. citing *Anwar al-safa*.

21. Ibid. pp. 26-8.

22. Ibid. pp. 31-3.

between the Shaykh and the Sultan took place.²³ According to 'Abd al-Quddus, no formal grants for the maintenance of the *khanqah* had been accepted from Sultans or noblemen down to the time of Shaykh Muhammad's incumbency when he was writing:²⁴ but 'Abd al-Quddus also mentions that from the time of his refusal of Sultan Ibrahim's grant, Ahmad 'Abd al-Haqq's way of life had been 'princely' (*chun mulukan*).²⁵ It must have been maintained by a substantial flow of day to day offerings (*futuhat*) reflecting the esteem in which the Shaykh and his shrine were held.

When Shaykh 'Abd al-Quddus was received into the *khanqah* of Shaykh Ahmad 'Abd al-Haqq, the incumbent (*sajjada-nashin*) was the grandson of the latter, Shaykh Muhammad bin Shaykh 'Arif. He was a boy of the same age as 'Abd al-Quddus; and 'Abd al-Quddus, although he made a profession of discipleship (*bay'at*), showed little of the intense respect and subservience to his pir which is inculcated by Sufi manuals and collections of anecdotes of the late medieval period.²⁶ Instead we are told that subsequently Shaykh Muhammad showed the greatest respect towards 'Abd al-Quddus.²⁷ 'Abd al-Quddus claimed that spiritual grace had come to him directly from Shaykh Muhammad's deceased grand father. According to the *Lata'f-i Quddusi*, when he had intended to go elsewhere to profess *bay'at*, each time that the thought occurred the spirit of Ahmad 'Abd al-Haqq had appeared before him to forbid it. Finally Ahmad 'Abd al-Haqq had come forward in bodily form²⁸ and consigned 'Abd al-Quddus to his grandson, to whom he professed *bay'at*. Another early account adds that there were many people present when the tomb of Shaykh Ahmad 'Abd al-Haqq split open and the deceased Shaykh came out in corporeal form, sat upon the *chabutra* or platform of the *khanqah* courtyard where 'Abd al-Quddus happened to be, took him by the hand and announced that he had brought him to God.²⁹

23. Ibid. pp. 33-4.

24. Ibid. p. 39.

25. Ibid. p. 35.

26. *Lata'if*, p. 10.

27. *Lata'if*, loc. cit.

28. *Lata'if*, loc. cit. *ba juththa-i zabiri hazir shudand*; in contrast to earlier occasions when it was *dar mu'amala-i batin*, 'in a dream'—(for this usage see op. cit. pp. 63, 67).

29. Reproduced in the 19th century preface to the smaller collection of 'Abd al-Quddus' letters (see note 92 below), p. 3. Also reproduced verbatim in the concluding matter of the lithograph of *Anwar al-'uyun*, pp. 131—2. The source is a

‘Abd al-Quddus Ahmad ‘Abd al-Haqq contains no mention of his entry into the *khanqah* of *bay‘at* elsewhere: nor does it allude to such a crude miracle as the deceased Shaykh coming out of his tomb to welcome him. In this account it is not difficult for us to accept that the supernatural voices, of the *‘alam-i ghayb* (‘world invisible’), were a part of the subjective experience of this Shaykh and those who lived in a similar religious environment; later in this paper we shall revert to the mystical experiences of ‘Abd al-Quddus.

‘Abd al-Quddus remarks that the sound of the name of God, *Haqq*, used to be heard by the *murids* (disciples), around the *khanqah*, a sign of the awesome potency of the *wilayat* (spiritual jurisdiction) of Shaykh Ahmad ‘Abd al-Haqq. He himself had heard it in the following circumstances.

At the beginning of his entry into the Sufi life, he was sitting amid a gathering of friends. He had abandoned his own household and his dear mother, and had fallen into an impure or worldly love (*‘ishq-i napak*).³⁰ His elder brother then came and admonished him, gave him much advice and led him by the hand back home. It was one of the nights of the blessed month of Ramazan and in the spring (*bahar*). The moon had risen in a clear sky free of dust and ‘Abd al-Quddus was sitting upon the charpoy of his mother. Suddenly there arose from the unseen the cry of “*Haqq!*” from a westerly direction. ‘Abd al-Quddus’ head had been bowed from his affliction with the pangs of love. He now raised his head; and a while passed and again the name “*Haqq!*” was heard from between the North and West. He then went out into the courtyard of the house. His mother and all the members of the household had been wakened. Not much time elapsed before the cry “*Haqq!*” again came from the unseen world in the North, in such a manner that all heard it. “When we investigated it,” ‘Abd al-Quddus adds, “we found that there was no one around the outside of the house.” About half the night had passed when ‘Abd al-Quddus asked his mother to forgive him, because he was not master of his own actions. The *wilayat* of Shaykh Ahmad ‘Abd al-Haqq was drawing him away to itself, and she should release and excuse him.

collection of *malfuzat* (*malfuzat-i Qutb-i ‘Alam*, possibly not the actual title compiled by ‘Abd al-Sattar Saharanpuri, *khalifa* of ‘Abd al-Quddus, (d. 950/1543-4), for whom see I. Quddusi, p. 596 p. citing *Nuzhat al-khawatir*, IV, 177-8.

30. See Note 13, above.

'Abd al-Quddus then settled down to worship and austerities. Every night when two thirds of the night had passed, a world of revelation (*'alam-i fayz*) blazed upon him. It was as if the mountains of the world had been placed upon his head, or as if he had been carried away to the depths of the ocean. Then, as a sign of the intercession and of the plenitude of the *wilayat* of Shaykh Ahmad 'Abd al-Haqq, the cry of "*Haqq!*" would come from the unseen, at which he would straightway find release, and he would arise and perform the *tahajjud* prayers.³¹

After his reception at the *khanqah* 'Abd al-Quddus was engaged in austerities and in the menial tasks customarily undertaken by the *murids* in such establishments.³² He evidently spent much time in the company of a privileged old servant of Shaykh Muhammad's father, called Shaykh Piyare, who was attracted to 'Abd al-Quddus on account of the latter's mystical impassioned state (*hal-i jadhiba*). A suspicion of levity attaches to the association, as his biographer explains that during the time he apparently spent with Shaykh Piyare 'Abd al-Quddus was in reality receiving inward graces from Shaykh Ahmad 'Abd al-Haqq.³³ Shaykh Piyare appears to have influenced and encouraged the taste of 'Abd al-Quddus for both Persian and Hindi poetry. Another member of the same circle was a tailor called Bhikan who experienced mystical illuminations. After his own house was burnt down, 'Abd al-Quddus went to live with him.³⁴ Against his own professed desire to be free from earthly attachments, 'Abd al-Quddus' marriage was arranged with a younger sister of Shaykh Muhammad, granddaughter of Ahmad 'Abd al-Haqq.³⁵

'Abd al-Quddus had visited Siddhawr, some fifteen miles due west of Rudawli, where he had studied under Shaykh Khvajagi.³⁶ He had also roamed through the deserted places of the nearby countryside,³⁷ and, when young, may have been in the habit of visiting Jawnpur:³⁸ but he appears to have spent the first 37 (muslim) years of his life

31. *Anwar al-'uyun*, pp. 107-9.

32. *Lata'if*, pp. 10-11 : I. Quddusi, pp. 183-6.

33. *Lata'if*, p. 9-10.

34. *Lata'if*, p. 19.

35. *Lata'if*, pp. 11-12 : I. Quddusi, pp. 199-202.

36. *Lata'if*, p. 7. For Siddhaur (ancient Sidhapura) see H.R. Nevill, *Barabanki : a gazetter*, map facing p. 1 and pp. 270-1.

37. *Lata'if*, p. 18 : anecdote 26.

38. Casual visits to Jawnpur are implied by *Lata'if*, pp. 22, 24.

without ever going far ahead from Rudawli. Rudawli had suffered devastation a number of times in the wars between Bahlol Lodi and Husayn Shah Sharqi around or before 884/1479.³⁹ In the following decade, when 'Abd al-Quddus had reached maturity and Rudawli was under the rule of the Lodi Sultans, 'Abd al-Quddus began to receive the Afghan disciples who figure prominently in his biography, soldiers in the Lodi tribal army. At the beginning of the last decade of the fifteenth century Rudawli temporarily passed out of the control of the Lodi Sultans. The *Lata'if-i Quddusi* states that the Kafirs had gained power in Hindostan (i.e. the Gangetic plain eastwards from Dehli) and the *pargana* of Rudawli was under their administrative control ('amal').⁴⁰ The Kafirs in question appear to be the Bachgoti Rajputs who caused a considerable disturbance in the eastern U.P. following Sikandar Lodi's accession (894/1489) and his war with his brother Barbak Shah.⁴¹

Under Hindu rule pork was openly sold in the bazar and 'Abd al-Quddus was distressed (*dilgir*). In these circumstances he went to visit an influential disciple, 'Umar Khan Sarvani, a military leader in one of the most important Afghan tribes of the Lodi Sultanate.⁴² At 'Umar Khan's invitation, 'Abd al-Quddus moved in 896/1491 from his ancestral home at Rudawli to Shahabad in the Karnal district of the eastern Panjab on the west bank of the Jamuna—a journey of between four and five hundred miles to the north-west.⁴³ He was to spend three and a half decades mainly in Shahabad; and his children grew up there.⁴⁴ One anecdote in the *Lata'if* mentions a pilgrimage

39. *Lata'if*, pp. 23, 100. For the terminal date of the war, that of Husayn's flight to Bihar see K. S. Lal, *Twilight of the Sultanate*, Bombay 1963, p. 151 and n. *Anwar al-'uyun*, pp. 40-1 states that Rudawli was devastated several times (*chand karrat*) in the disturbances of Husayn Shah Sharqi's reign and later mentions a very recent sacking of the place (p. 102).

40. *Lata'if*, pp. 30-1.

41. The beginning of this anecdote makes a reference to the succession of Sikandar Lodi to the throne, which occurred in 1489, and the war with Barbak Shah: later in it the birth of the author one year after the move from Rudawli in the year 897/1492 is mentioned. For the Bachgoti revolt see K. S. Lal *op cit.* pp. 167-8.

42. For the tribal basis of the military machine of the Lodi Sultanate see S. Digby in *loc. cit.* pp. 52-60.

43. *Lata'if*, p. 31. For the town of Shahabad in the Thanesar *tahsil* of Karnal district, East Panjab, see (R. C. Burn), *Imperial gazetteer of India: Provincial series: Panjab*, Calcutta 1908, I, p. 318.

44. *Lata'if* *loc. cit.* Hamid al-din was eleven years old at the time of the move to Shahabad. Rukn al-din, as mentioned above, was born one year after it.

to Dehli,⁴⁵ he certainly made a long stay at Dehli when his son Rukn al-din was studying there, probably between 1505 and 1510 A.D.⁴⁶ At least once in the years at Shahabad 'Abd al-Quddus went on a pilgrimage to Ajodhan and Multan by way of Dipalpur.⁴⁷

Disturbed political conditions also led to 'Abd al-Quddus' final change of residence. Another of his Afghan *murids*, 'Uthman Karrani was established at Gangoh in the Saharanpur district of the modern U.P., which is about forty miles south-east of Shahabad across the river Jamuna.⁴⁸ At this *murid's* invitation 'Abd al-Quddus had despatched his son Rukn al-din to take up residence there, probably in 1524 A.D., two years before the battle of Panipat.⁴⁹ The tenor of the anecdote which relates this suggests that 'Abd al-Quddus agreed to this arrangement with the thought in his mind of a safer refuge for the whole of his household and entourage in a place which was not, like Shahabad, upon the main road of any army advancing southwards towards Delhi. A year before Babur's successful invasion 'Abd al-Quddus moved to Gangoh "out of fear of the Mughals".⁵⁰ Shortly after the move there was a disastrous fire in Gangoh, in which the Shaykh narrowly escaped being burnt. The same night he heard the voice of God urging him not to be despondent and proclaiming that He had bestowed on him the rank of *Qutb* and created him *Qutb al-Aqtab*.⁵¹

When Babur's anticipated invasion occurred and the Mughal and Lodi armies confronted one another outside Panipat, 'Abd al-Quddus like most of the rest of the population of the nearby countryside attempted to flee southwards well behind the Afghan lines. But he only succeeded in reaching Kutana, on the eastern bank of the Jamuna level with Panipat on the western side, when he was summoned by Sultan Ibrahim Lodi to bless his army by his presence. He had to obey

45. For an anecdote mentioning a pilgrimage to Dehli, see *Lata'if*, p. 41.

46. *Lata'if*, pp. 46, 48, 61.

47. *Lata'if*, p. 39.

48. H. R. Nevill, *Saharanpur : a gazetteer, District gazetteers of the United Provinces and Oudh*, II, Allahabad 1909, pp. 240-2.

49. *Lata'if*, p. 62.

50. *Lata'if*, p. 64. The widespread alarm felt before this final successful invasion of Babur is witnessed by two dreams recorded in the *Lata'if*, of the wife of 'Abd al-Quddus (p. 63) and of Dattu Sarvani, (pp. 71-2).

51. *Lata'if*, pp. 64-5. *Qutb* (polestar) and *Qutb al-aqtab* (polestar of polestars) indicated in Sufi parlance the supreme member of a hierarchy of divinely appointed beings who guarded and watched over the mortal world. See for instance al-Hujwiri, tr. R.A. Nicholson, *Kashf al-mahjub*, Leyden 1911, p. 214.

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the command, but—obliquely prophesying disaster—he ordered most of the rest of his family to leave him and go onwards “towards Hindostan.” With Ibrahim’s defeat and death, ‘Abd al-Quddus fell into the hands of a Mughal; and this elderly and honoured figure was led away on foot from Panipat to Dehli, a distance of some forty miles, with his son Hamid and his servant Sayyid Raja tied to the saddle of their captor’s horse by the long black woollen turban of the Shaykh.⁵²

He was released at Dehli; and he was settled for the remaining eleven years of his life at Gangoh. He was evidently at the fort of Agra at a date between April and July 1537 A.D., where he must have been waiting upon the Mughal emperor Humayun.⁵³ His connexions with his Afghan soldier *murids* were maintained after the downfall of the Lodis; they regarded him as a valuable spiritual aid in the continued struggle against the Mughals.⁵⁴ At the same time ‘Abd al-Quddus seems rapidly to have formed connexions with the Mughal conquerors. His letter to Babur, discussed below, does not indicate that he enjoyed any standing with that monarch, but he appears to have received the esteem and offerings of Humayun, both before and after he came to the throne,⁵⁵ as well as of the Mughal commander (Tardi Beg.⁵⁶ Abu’l-Fazl mentions that Humayun was in the habit of visiting the *zaviya* of ‘Abd al-Quddus (possibly rooms occupied by him at Agra rather

52. *Lata’if*, pp. 63-4.

53. *Lata’if*, p. 71. The Afghan soldier Dattu Sarvani says that he met ‘Abd al-Quddus at the fort of Agra, after his own return from Gujarat. The emperor Humayun was probably in residence at Agra from June or July, 1536 to the end of July 1537, when he set out for Bengal. Dattu Sarvani can hardly have come to Agra before April 1537: see S. Digby, *op. cit.*, in *loc. cit.*, pp. 56, 61, 75 n. 25, 79 n. 45, 179 and 192 n. 47, in which the chronology of Humayun’s movements and those of Dattu is discussed at length: see also *HUMAYUN* in E I, 2 which embodies the conclusions of the writer regarding the chronology of the reign. Rukn al-din may be referring to this or an earlier visit of ‘Abd al-Quddus to Agra, when he describes a meeting ‘after a long interval’ with Miran Sayyidi Ahmad, there, whom he had previously encountered in Sikandar Lodi’s reign: *Lata’if*, pp. 54-5.

54. See S. Digby, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

55. The contents of the letters to Babur and Humayun are discussed in detail below (see *typescript* pp. 27-9). Further evidence of the attachment of Humayun to ‘Abd al-Quddus is found in an anecdote which when ‘Abd al-Quddus wished to abandon his family and live elsewhere, he was stopped by the *darogha* of Gangoh, who pleaded that Humayun would think that the Shaykh had left on account of his ill-treatment of him, and would probably kill him: *Lata’if* p. 60.

56. See below (*typescript*, p. 26).

than the *khanqah* at Gangoh), suitably attended by men of learning, and of holding discussions with him.⁵⁷

‘Abd al-Quddus died at Gangoh on the 23rd Jumada II, 944/28th November, 1537.⁵⁸ The substantial sixteenth century domed tomb in his *khanqah* at Gangoh may have been completed in the last year of life.⁵⁹ The *khanqah* is still in the possession of his descendants.⁶⁰ Perhaps the most famous of these was his grandson, Shaykh ‘Abd al-Nabi bin Shaykh Ahmad, the *sadr al-sudur* of the early years of Akbar’s reign who later excited that monarch’s wrath; who also caused scandal in respectable Indo-Muslim learned circles by attacking the practice of his own relations in the matter of *sama’* or listening to music.⁶¹ Nevill states that in the early years of this century many of the *pirzadas* or descendants of Shaykh ‘Abd al-Quddus resident at Gangoh were

57. *A’in-i Akbari*, Calcutta 1877, II, 223; English tr. by Jarrett and Sarkar, Calcutta 1948, III, p. 417. The continuative past tense of the verbs *shude*, *padh-rufie* in Abu-I Fazl’s note imply that Humayun was in the habit of visiting the Shaykh.

58. *Lata’if*, p. 70. Ghawthi states, incorrectly, that he died in 950 A.H. (op. cit. f. 152B).

59. Nevill, *Saharanpur*, p. 241 states that the tomb was built by Humayun in 944/1537. If there is an inscription which mentions that it was built in that year, it will in all probability mention Humayun as the reigning monarch (cf. epigraphs of 944 A.H. and 946 A.H. in *Epigraphia indo-moslemica* 1933-4, pp. 19-20). But in view of Humayun’s long connection with the Shaykh, and the Shaykh’s visit to him in the last year of his life, said to be that of the building of his tomb also, it is not impossible that it was built or at any rate completed from a donation of Humayun for this purpose. See also I. Quddusi, p. 400-1 and frontispiece, showing the tomb. It is a large square *maqbara* for which a date of completion of 1537 A.D. is acceptable. The building of their tombs in their own lifetimes had become quite common in India before this time, among both noblemen and Sufi Shaykhs.

60. I. Quddusi has (facing p. 402) a photograph of the *sajjada-nashin* and his predecessor.

61. ‘Abd al-Haqq, *Akhbar al-akhyar*, p. 216. ‘Abd al-Haqq Dehlavi in his notice of ‘Abd al-Quddus is more concerned with the demerit of his grandson than with the excellencies of the Shaykh. Cf. also Badayuni, *Muntakhab al-tawarikh* Calcutta 1865-9, II, 71, 255, 311, III, 79-83. Although they must have been personally acquainted with him, both Badayuni and ‘Abd al-Haqq seem to be mistaken regarding his parentage. Badayuni (III, 79) states that he was the son of Shaykh Ahmad son of Shaykh Rukn al-din, son of Shaykh ‘Abd al-Quddus. ‘Abd al-Haqq describes him as ‘one of the offspring’ (*yakeaz ubna*) of Rukn al-din. In fact the third son of ‘Abd al-Quddus was called Ahmad and was evidently considerably younger than Rukn al-din: his childhood and that of his still younger brother is mentioned in *Lata’if* p. 35. I. Quddusi, who had in his possession *shajarai* of the family, describes ‘Abd al-nabi as the son of this Ahmad, who died in 1000/1591-2 (I. Quddusi, p. 507). The *shajaras* are unlikely to be wrong in this matter, and the confusion of ‘Abd al-Haqq and Badayuni may be the result of a

Wahhabis.⁶² At the same time the 'urs or anniversary of the decease of the Shaykh was celebrated with great ceremony; perhaps the term *Wahhabi* is to be taken in a loose late nineteenth century Anglo-Indian sense. However at Deoband, in the Saharanpur district not far from Gangoh, the celebrated *dar al-ulum* was founded in 1867 A.D., and this was under Wahhabi influence from South Arabia.⁶³ Mawlavi Rashid Ahmad Gangohi, a descendant of Abd al-Quddus, was among the founders of the *dar al-ulum*; and his own descendants have since played a prominent part in it.⁶⁴

Turning from the descendants of 'Abd al-Quddus to his and their *khalifas* in the Chisthi Sabiri *silsila*, we find a number of figures prominent in the subsequent development of Indian Sufism and Indian Islam, with a wide spectrum of theological opinions. Among the *Khalifas* of 'Abd al-Quddus who exerted influence in the reign of Akbar were Shaykh Jalal al-din Thanesari, author of a treatise defending the rights of Muslim settlers over land against the encroachments of the sovereign;⁶⁵ and Shah 'Abd al-Ghafur A'zampuri, friend of the historian Badayuni and ancestor of a line of Qazis.⁶⁶ 'Abd al-Ahad, father of the "Mujaddid" Shaykh Ahmad Sarhindi was a *khalifa* of Rukn al-din Quddusi.⁶⁷ Through 'Abd al-Ahad the powerful but unorthodox line of Pir Pagaru in Sind trace a connexion.⁶⁸ Later *khalifas* in the *silsila* descending from 'Abd al-Quddus include Shah Muhibb Allah, the advocate of *wahdat al-wujud* in the reign of Shah Jahan;⁶⁹ and Haji Imdad Allah, who had travelled in *Wahhabi*

considerable difference of age between Shaykh Rukn al-din and Shaykh Ahmad. I. Quddusi also mentions the composition by this Shaykh Ahmad of a treatise of the lawfulness of *sama'*, the point on which, according to 'Abd al-Haqq, 'Abd al-nabi denounced his father. Ghawthi, who wrote between 1602 and 1613 A.D. confirms that 'Abd al-Nabi was the son of Shaykh Ahmad (op. cit. f. 153 A).

62. Nevill, *Saharanpur*, loc. cit.

63. Murray T. Titus, *Islam in India and Pakistan* Calcutta 1959, p. 78. Titus describes (Deoband as "the most important *madrasah* in the Muslim world, next to *Al-Azhar* in Cairo".

64. I. Quddusi, pp. 556-61. It is not mentioned there that he was of the *awlad* of 'Abd al-Quddus.

65. I. Quddusi, pp. 535-40 : Badayuni, III, pp. 3 - 4 : Nizami, *Tarikh-i mash'aikh*, pp. 224-5. Shaykh Jalal-al-din Thanesari, *Tahagguq-i-aradi-i-Hind*, Arabic text edited with Urdu translation by S. S. A. Nadvi, Karachi, Da'irah-i mu'in al-ma 'arif 1963.

66. I. Quddusi, pp. 573-4; Badayuni, III, 42-3.

67. I. Quddusi, pp. 503-5.

68. I. Quddusi, p. 503 and n.

69. I. Quddusi, pp. 543-53.

Arabia in the early years of the nineteenth century.⁷⁰ His *khalifas*, Rashid Ahmad Gangohi mentioned above, and Mawlanas Muhammad and Muhammad Ya'qub of Nanawta were among the principal founders of the Deoband *dar al-'ulum*.⁷¹ The expressed attitudes of 'Abd al-Quddus himself were very far from the climate of theological opinion at Deoband and have been a source of some embarrassment to descendants of his connected with this institution.⁷²

(ii) *The literary works of Shaykh 'Abd al-Quddus :*

Shaykh 'Abd al-Quddus was often seen by his son engaged in literary composition.⁷³ I. Quddusi mentions 17 compositions of the Shaykh, many of which are no longer extant.⁷⁴ Of lost works to which reference is made in the *Lata'if-i Quddusi* or other near contemporary sources three treatises, viz.—(i) *Bahr al-inshi'ab* on Arabic grammar, (ii) a *sharh* on the *Misbah* and (iii) a *hashiya* on the *Sharh-i saha'if* can be classed as *juvenilia* in which 'Abd al-Quddus embodied the lessons which he was receiving as a young student.⁷⁵ Other apparently lost works include (iv) *Fawa'id al-qira'a* on Qur'anic recitation, composed as a result of his association with Shaykh Sulayman Mandavi⁷⁶ and (v) *Nur al-ma'ani*, a *sharh* on the *qasida-i amani*, the preface of which treated of *wahdat al-wujud* and drew the Shaykh into a controversy with Miran Sayyidi Ahmad Multani.⁷⁷ Both of these works were probably written at Shahabad. An early seventeenth century source refers to the Shaykh's *sharbs* on (vi) the *Fusus al-hikam* of Ibn al-'Arabi and (vii) upon the *Istilahat-i-Kashi*.⁷⁸ I. Quddusi thought that there was a volume of the Shaykh's Persian poetry (*majmu'-a-i*

70. I. Quddusi, pp. 554-6 : Nizami, *Tarikh-i masha'ikh*, pp. 232-4. See also Hajji Imdad Allah *Ziya' al-qulub*, Dehli, Mujaba'i Press 1284, p. 61.

71. I. Quddusi, pp. 561-70 : Hajji Imdad Allah, op. cit., p. 60.

72. Cf. a letter from a grandson of Rashid Ahmad Gangohi reproduced in I. Quddusi, pp. 312-20.

73. *Lata'if*, p. 8 : *tasanif-i bisyar kard*.

74. I. Quddusi, op. cit., pp. 421-33. See also Storey, No. 1279, p. 968 : ND Marshall, *Mughals in India*, Bombay 1968, No. 58, pp. 20-1 : K. A. Nizami, op. cit., p. 221 : and recently published catalogues of Mss. listed in the following notes.

75. *Lata'if*, p. 6.

76. *Lata'if*, p. 41.

77. *Lata'if*, pp. 54-5.

78. Ghawthi, op. cit., 152 A. The *sharh* on the '*Awarif al-ma'arif*' is also mentioned by him (for which see below) and these works are described as 'profitable' (*sudmand*).

kalam-i farsi) collected in the Shaykh's lifetime, but the reference which he gives to the *Lata'if* does not support him;⁷⁹ it is indeed probable from the superscription to the *ghazals* included at the end of the *Lata'if* that no such collection had been made.⁸⁰ However the *Lata'if* quotes from and describes (viii) a translation into Persian verse of Mawlana Da'ud Dalama'i's Avadhi poem *Candayan*, which was made by 'Abd al-Quddus before 1479 A.D., but had not been completed before the time of its destruction.⁸¹

Extant works of the Shaykh include (ix) an Arabic *sharh* on Suhrawardi's '*Awarif al-ma'arif*', of which one manuscript has been recorded.⁸² This was a work of his maturity, on which he set considerable store.⁸³ One manuscript is recorded of (x) the *Risala-i Qudsi*, probably the work on '*ilm-i ma'rifat*' which he composed for Shaykh Sulayman Mandavi.⁸⁴ (xi) A *risala* called *Mazhar al-'aja'ib* is referred to by Professor Nizami,⁸⁵ and (xii) another short Sufi treatise partly in the form of questions and answers, *Ghara'ib al-fawa'id* exists in lithograph.⁸⁶ Two further *risalas* on Sufi doctrine, entitled respectively (xiii) *Nur al-huda* and (xiv) *Qurrat al-'ayn* or *Qurrat al-'ayun* are extant in manuscript.⁸⁷

(xv) *Anwar al'uyun fi asrar al-maknun* is a biographical *tadhkira* concerning Shaykh Ahmad 'Abd al-Haqq of Rudawli. It was probably composed within a few years after 887/1482, when 'Abd al-Quddus

79. I. Quddusi, p. 429 referring to *Lata'if* p. 100.

80. *Lata'if* pp. 96-9. Heading:—*baze abyat-i-hazrati qutbi u shaykhi ki mutafarriqa budand dar inja jam karda shudand*—"Some of the verses of 'Abd al-Quddus which were scattered have been collected here."

81. *Lata'if*, p. 100. Mawlana Da'ud Dalama'i, *Candayana*, ed. P. L. Gupta, Bombay, Hindi Granth Ratnakar 1964 : *Canadyana* (sic), ed. M. P. Gupta, Agra, Pramanik Prakashan 1967.

82. Asafiyya, *Fihrist-i kutub*, Vol. I, p. 172, No. 881.

83. *Lata'if*, pp. 8, 68.

84. M. B. Husayn, *Fihrist-makhtutat-i Shayrani*, Lahore 1968-69, II, p. 224, No. 1236. The work is referred to in *Lata'if*, p. 41.

85. Nizami, loc. cit.

86. No manuscripts are recorded. Lithographed edition: *Ghara'ib al-fawa'id*, 'under the care of Ghulam Ahmad Khan 'Biryani', Jhajjar, Muslim Press n.d. (circa 1314/1896-7): mentioned by Nizami, loc. cit. : not in the British Museum or India Office catalogues, but a copy is in writer's collection.

87. Ethe, *India Office*, I, No. 1924, p. 1075, items 14 and 16 on folios 107-13 115-61. In this manuscript the second title is given as *Qurrat al'a yun*: but Hafiz Mahmud Shayrani, who may have had a manuscript of the treatises in his own rich collection, calls it *Qurrat al-'uyun*, see *Panjab men Urdu*, Lahore 1st ed. n.d. (circa 1928) pp. 162-3.

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 was still resident at Rudawli.⁸⁸ It is a work of much interest for its record of Sufi practice and for its references to political and social conditions in the eastern U.P. in the first half of the fifteenth century. One manuscript has been recorded and it has been lithographed at least three times.⁸⁹

(xvi) *Rushd-nama* or *Risala-i Rushdi*, the short Sufi tract whose contents are examined later in this paper. There survive at least seven recorded manuscripts, and it has once been lithographed.⁹⁰

Collections of letters and of anecdotes of the Shaykh remain to be considered. His letters survive in (xvii) a collection of 193 letters, called *Maktubat-i Quddusi* or *Makatib-i Quddusi*, extant in at least three manuscripts and a lithographed edition.⁹¹ This collection was made shortly after the death of 'Abd al-Quddus by Shaykh Khizr Budhan bin Rukn Jawanpuri, known as Miyan Khan.

(xviii) A smaller anonymous selection of 54 letters, called *Muntakhab-i Maktubat-i Quddusi* survives in a manuscript in private hands and has once been lithographed.⁹²

88. Cf. *Anwar al-'uyun*, p. 39 'and to the present day when fifty years have passed from the death of Hazrat-i Shaykh',—which occurred in 837 A.H.; also p. 41 which indicates that at the time of writing Rudawli had recovered from the devastation of the war which came to an end in 1479 A.D. (see note 39).

89. Asafiyya, Vol. I, p. 486, No. 575 (?) : there called *Malfuz-i Shaykh Ahmad* 'Abd al-Haqq. Lithographed editions: (i) with a Persian preface by Chawdhari Khalil al-Rahman and other matter at close, Lakhnau, Gulzar-i Muhammadi Press 1295/1878 (copy in the writer's collection). (ii) 'Aligarh, Ahsan al-matabi' 1905 (copy in I.O. Library): (iii) "with Urdu translation by Khalil al-Rahman Chawdhari", Lakhnau, Mujtaba'i Press 1909 (I.O.L.).

90. Princeton, No. 113 : 'Aligarh (Subhan Library), p. 16, No. 75 : Tuebingen, Staatsbibliothek, Or. Sprenger 827, evidently the copy formerly in the library of the Kings of Oude: *Fitrist-i makhtutat-i Shayrani* II p. 226, Nos. 1246 and 1247; No. 1248, entitled *Rushd nama ya irshad-nama* is probably a different work: S.S.A Rizvi, *Makhtutat-i anjuman-i taraqqi i-urdu*, Karachi 1967, p. 86, No. 848: Nizami, loc. cit. A Ms listed as *Rushd-nama* without identification of author is found in *A descriptive catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the Government Museum, Alwar*, (Jaipur, Dept. of Museums and Archaeology, n.d.) p. 109, No. 491. I. Quddusi has used a manuscript copied from the lithographed edition, in the possession of Sufi Bashir Ahmad (pp. 40-1,425). Lithographed edition: *Rushd-nama muhashsha*, cc. Ghulam Ahmad Khan ('Biryan'), Jhajjar, Muslim Press 1314/1896-7 (B. M. Library; writer's collection).

91. Ethe, *Bodleian*, No 1275; Ethe, I.O., No. 1873, p. 1041 : I.O. Dehli Persian No. 1041. Lithographed edition: *Maktubat-i Quddusiya*, Delhi, Ahmadi Press 1287/1870. (B. M. and I.O.L.).

92. See I. Quddusi, p. 430, who states that the manuscript used for the preparation of the lithograph used to be in the possession of his grandfather: it

Of anecdotal or biographical works dealing exclusively with the acts and conversations of Shaykh 'Abd al-Quddus, extensive use has already been made in this paper of (xix) *Lata'if-i Quddusi* by Shaykh Rukn al-din, son of 'Abd al-Quddus. One manuscript is recorded and it has once been lithographed.⁹³ Two similar nearly contemporary works are known only from literary references:—(xx) *Asrar al-'aja'il* by Shaykh Khizr Budhan Jawnpuri, collector of the *maktubat* noticed above;⁹⁴ and (xxi) a compilation possibly called *Malfuzat-i Qutb-i 'alam* by Shaykh 'Abd al-Sattar Saharanpuri.⁹⁵

(iii) *Religious attitudes and behaviour :*

Historical writing about Islam in India has tended to produce some very simple stereotypes of the attitudes and activity of Sufi Shaykhs, who are often summarily divided into the liberal and the strictly orthodox, those who made concessions to their Indian environment and those who did not. They are then commended or blamed according to the viewpoint of the writer. The historical reality is of course much more complex than this, and a detailed study of a medieval Sufi Shaykh will often reveal apparent inconsistencies of attitude, character and behaviour. Acceptance of a Sufi in his lifetime as a great Shaykh depended on the recognition that he possessed, to an impressive degree, qualities which indicated that he was an especial recipient of Divine Grace. The balance of these qualities embodied in a single Shaykh might vary, just as a winning hand at cards may be stronger in some suits than others. Descent from the Prophet, his companions or other *ashraf*; connexion with a Sufi *silsila* of already established local prestige; a reputation for strict orthodoxy; meticulous performance of Islamic duties; austerities sometimes of a more and sometimes of a less orthodox character; a mastery of Islamic doctrinal and Sufi texts or an abundance of literary compositions; the working of miracles together with a careful avoidance of the vulgar display of them; a reputation for inaccessibility and dislike of human society, often combined with a care for disciples and accepted hangers on;

was evidently copied in 1159/1746-7 (see preface to the lithograph, p. 8). Lithographed edition: *Muntakhab-i maktubat-i Quddusiya*, with a short, evidently nineteenth century, biographical preface by Mushtaq Ahmad Ambethavi Chishti, Dehli, Mujtaba'i Press 1312/1894-5. (writer's coll.).

93. I. O. Dehli Persian, No. 1099. Lithographed edition: *Lata'if-i Quddusi*, Dehli, Mujtaba'i Press 1311/1894. (B. M. : writer's coll.).

95. For details see note 29, above,

visible ecstasy, often of a shamanistic type and often also linked with a refined sensibility to poetry and music,—all these qualities were held to be evidence of the especially close relations of the Shaykh with the Deity and all contributed to his prestige and to the winning of devotees. ‘Abd al-Quddus exhibits many of these qualities and also some of the inconsistencies which result from striving after such different excellences.

The orthodox Islamic element in ‘Abd al-Quddus’ activities and character is strongly attested. “It is apparent,” his son writes, “that in conforming to (the example of) the Prophet (and) in the (observance of) the *shar‘* of the Prophet he was so strict that he did not allow the most minute departure from it to be permissible in either exterior or interior matters—as regards himself or others. If he got to know of any departure from the *shar‘* by anyone, he showed dissatisfaction and wished to avoid his company; and he did not allow him to come near him. However much Hazrat-i Qutbi (‘Abd al-Quddus) had associated with all kinds of men, company which was hostile to the faith had no effect upon his nature; but rather others from the effects of his company returned to the narrow path (*sirat-i mustaqim*).”⁹⁶ One may note the defensive tone of his biographer and the reference to his ‘association with all kinds of men’.

A large part of the time of ‘Abd al-Quddus was spent in prayers and devotions, of which those not actually enjoined by Islam were above any criticism on the grounds of orthodoxy. At the beginning of his religious life he was in the habit of performing four hundred *rak‘ats*, additional to those which are obligatory, every day and four hundred more every night.⁹⁷ He was never distracted from his prayers by the mice, ants and snakes which shared his cell.⁹⁸ Through the coldest of winters and in his old age his *wazu* was performed with unheated water.⁹⁹ He fasted during the day at all times apart from the prohibited days, and at night he ate little except when he was so carried away discoursing upon ‘*ilm-i ma‘rifat*’ that he ceased to notice how much he was eating.¹⁰⁰ Ramazan, the *shab-i barat* and other Muslim festivals were occasions for supererogatory prayers; but on such occasions ‘Abd al-Quddus, although he was a

96. *Lata‘if*, p. 19, also pp. 35-6.

97. *Lata‘if*, p. 15, anecdote 21.

98. *Lata‘if*, p. 15, anecdote 20.

99. *Lata‘if* pp. 15, 66.

100. *Lata‘if*, pp. 69-70.

hafiz of the Qur'an, was too overcome to recite himself before the *mihrab*.¹⁰¹ Among Sufi devotions, for years he was in the habit of passing the night from the 'isha prayer to the dawn in *dhikr-i jahr*.¹⁰²

Though 'Abd al-Quddus urged the necessity of strict orthodoxy,¹⁰³ he held several opinions which conflict with the consensus of Sunni belief. Throughout his life he remained a vigorous advocate of the doctrine of *wahdat al-wujud*, the unity in essence of the Creator and the created. The *Rushd-nama* constantly returns to this theme. In later life he developed arguments of greater subtlety, but his beliefs remained unchanged.¹⁰⁴ At Gangoh he argued with Miran Sayyidi Ahmad, a theologian from Multan, upon this doctrine 'for five or six months', until he had persuaded him to accept it.¹⁰⁵ When his sons questioned the doctrine, he was so grieved that he set out from Gangoh to take up *residence* with one of his *khalifas*; whom he believed, rightly as it turned out, to be convinced upon the point.¹⁰⁶

'Abd al-Quddus also urged very strongly the claims of the Pir as Perfect Man (*insan-i kamil*) and as the mirror of God. In the *Rushd-nama* he argued that the *murid* (disciple) had an actual obligation to perform *sijda* (prostration) before his Pir as before God.¹⁰⁷ In the *Anwar al-'uyun* he expressed the curious doctrine that the *wilayat* (spiritual influence over earthly affairs) of a Pir endured for forty years after his death, but that of Shaykh Ahmad 'Abd al-Haqq would endure until the day of judgement.¹⁰⁸

The Chishti *silsila* in India was noted for its attachment to *sama'* (listening to music). *Sama'* and *raqs*, the ecstatic dancing which often accompanies it, are often described in the biography of 'Abd al-Quddus.¹⁰⁹ The question of the lawfulness of *sama'*, together with that of the opinion of *wahdat al-wujud* were the two major points of contention between the more extreme but respectable Sufis and the stricter Sunni 'Ulama in medieval India. In a later addition

101. *Lata'if*, p. 42.

102. *Lata'if*, p. 15, anecdote 22.

103. *Rushd-nama*, p. 14, quoting a verse of Nakhshabi, Cf. the remarks on *shar'* quoted above.

104. *Lata'if*, p. 58.

105. *Lata'if*, p. 55.

106. *Lata'if*, p. 58.

107. See the synopsis of the doctrinal content of the *Rushd-nama*, below.

108. *Anwar al-'uyun*, p. 110.

109. *Lata'if*, pp. 11-2, 49, 60-5.

to the *Lata'if* a conflict is described between 'Abd al-Quddus and a *muhtasib* appointed by Sikandar Lodi, concerning the holding of *sama'*; naturally the anecdote ends with the subjection of the *muhtasib*.¹¹⁰ 'Abd al-Quddus pursues a rather unusual line of argument regarding *sama'*, beyond the ordinary defence that when the musical instruments classed as *mazamir* are banished from the accompaniment of the singer, *sama'* is lawful.¹¹¹ 'Abd al-Quddus in the *Rushd-nama* maintained that purely instrumental music without singing is unlawful, because it lacks the words which will recall the Divine Beauty to the hearer. Such instrumental music is animal (*hayavani*) while singing is human (*insani*). *Sama* draws out the Divine secrets which are concealed in the human heart.¹¹²

Another point on which the opinions of 'Abd al-Quddus are questionable from a point of view of Sunni orthodoxy is his advocacy and practice of the *salat-i ma'kusa* or *namaz-i ma'kus*, devotions performed upside down while hanging suspended by a rope tied to the heels. This is a practice which may be found among some non-Muslim Indian ascetics and will be considered again when Yogic influences upon 'Abd al-Quddus are discussed. Nevertheless the practice is first recorded among Sufis before the Muslim conquests in India. Abu Sa'id b. Abi'l-Khayr, the celebrated late tenth century Shaykh of Mayhana in north-west Khurasan (modern North Afghanistan), is said by an early biographer to have performed it.¹¹³ Among Chishti Shaykhs in India, Farid al-din performed this devotion. His *khalifa*, Nizam al-din 'Awliya', in a conversation of the early fourteenth century, also stated that Shaykh Abu Sa'id (mentioned above) had said that the Prophet himself used to perform it.¹¹⁴ Among all Chishti Shaykhs 'Abd al-Quddus himself would appear to have been the most frequent practitioner of the *salat-i ma'kusa* and the most fervent advocate of the practice. In the *Rushd-nama*, after describing the attainment of a state of proximity to God, he states that "anyone who has grown firm in this condition will achieve the upside-down prayers which are

110. *Lata'if*, pp. 107-10.

111. *Siyar al-awliya'*, Bab 9, *dar sama'*, p. 492.

112. *Rushd-nama*, p. 25.

113. Muhammad bin Munawwar, *Asrar al-tawhid*, ed. Dh. Safa, Tehran 1332 Shamsi, pp. 33-4 : R. A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic mysticism*, Oxford 1921, p. 15 : see also K. A. Nizami, *Life and times of Farid-u'd-din*, p. 25 and n. 1.

114. Amir Hasan Sijzi, *Fawa'id al-fu'ad*, (Dehli) Fakhr al-matabi' 1272, pp. 8-9. Cf. the manner in which cow-slaughter is condemned in a bogus *malfuz*, *Anis*

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 in reality the right way up" (*salat-i ma'kusa mustavi al-ma'na*). In support of this proposition he quotes two couplets of a *ghazal* of Bu 'Ali Qalandar¹¹⁵ beginning :

A prayer which I who am drunk from the taverns perform
 has in it neither standing nor kneeling nor prostration.¹¹⁶

It scarcely needs to be observed that these ritual actions are not performed by a worshipper suspended from the heels. Elsewhere in the *Rushd-nama* the Hindi verse occurs,

kara jura sira dhara pav sanehara lagu re

Joining hands, place your head at the feet: apply yourself to love.

The marginal commentary by Rukn al-din maintains that the inner meaning of this is that the *murid* should perform *namaz-i ma'kus*.¹¹⁷

An anecdote in the *Lata'if* describes 'Abd al-Quddus' own performance of the *namaz-i ma'kus*. It opens with the remark that, whereas for other men the time for work was in the day, for 'Abd al-Quddus it was during the night. For years through the nights he used to perform the *namaz-i ma'kus*. After the 'isha prayers he would hang himself upside down and thus spend the night until the dawn. "One night I was in *namaz-i ma'kus*," he had related, "when the *sultan-i dhikr*¹¹⁸ manifested itself and put to flight my external existence. A state of obliteration (*mahviyat*) came to pass and there was no consciousness apart from my consciousness of myself. In that state I had to pass beyond this consciousness of myself and reach the annihilation of annihilation (*fana' al-fana'*). By God's grace this came to pass and the world of eternality (*baqa'*) was revealed. When I had descended from this state, a man appeared from the unseen (*az ghayb*)¹¹⁹ and said, "Blessed

4749 *al-arwah*, Dehli, Mujtaba'i Press 1312, p. 21. The condemnation is presented in the form of a *hadith* related by 'Abd Allah bin Mas'ud.

115. Near contemporary information about this Shaykh of the Chishti *silila* of the thirteenth century is scanty and subsequent biographical accounts are divergent. The *Siyar al aqtab* mentions his association with Khwaja Shams al-din Turk, also of Panipat, who figures in the *shajara* of 'Abd al-Quddus (pp. 159-60). See also *Khazinat al-asfiyya* I. pp. 326-8, and a very fanciful seventeenth century biography by Hamid al-din bin Shah Budh, *Sharaf al-manaqib*, Urdu tr. by Munshi Jaganath Dehli, Afzal al-matabi' n.d. (19th century).

116. *Rushd-nama*, p. 18.

117. *Rushd-nama*, p. 13, marginal commentary.

118. See below.

119. *az ghayb*. The *mardan-i ghayb* or *rijal al-ghayb* figure in many Indian Sufi hagiographical anecdotes.

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be it, at this time you were united with God (*wasil bi-haqq*)!" He then vanished." Rukn al-din, the recorder of the anecdote, asked who the man was, but 'Abd Quddus did not reply.¹²⁰

The *sultan-i dhikr* mentioned in this passage is described by Rukn al-din as the especial characteristic of the religious practice (*khassa-i mashrab*) of 'Abd al-Quddus. He says that whereas other Sufi works do not treat of it, the term is taken from the *Risala-i Makkiya*, of which he quotes a short passage.¹²¹ It is evident from Rukn al-din's description that *sultan-i dhikr* is not in itself an ordinary *dhikr*, that is to say the recitation of a short religious formula to a fixed bodily rhythm, intended to produce an extension of consciousness or other spiritual powers in the reciter. The term does not seem to be found in earlier Chishti works which describe *dhikr*, although it occurs in some later works which bear other traces of the influence of the *Rushd-nama*.¹²² As used by 'Abd al-Quddus and Rukn al-din, the meaning of *sultan-i dhikr* appears to be 'the dominance of *dhikr*,' referring to the psycho-physical condition produced by the repetition of *dhikr*, whether silent or spoken; or by other practices intended to relax the normal bounds of consciousness, such as the *namaz-i ma'kus*.

The alarming quality of *sultan-i dhikr* is much emphasized by Rukn al-din. 'Abd al-Quddus used to say that in the early years of his spiritual life, when *sultan-i dhikr* often overcame him and gave him no respite, he feared that he was about to lose his reason and that he would lapse into a permanent state of madness (*jununiyat*).

Rukn al-din equates the phenomenon of *sultan-i dhikr* with *wahy* or Prophetic inspiration. In support of the identification he quotes the well-attested *hadith* that the Prophet, when questioned as to how *wahy* worked upon him, replied, "It is like the ringing of a bell, but more violent upon me."¹²³ The *wahy* of the prophets is the *ilham* (supernatural guidance) of the saints: this in turn is equated with the sensation of *sultan-i dhikr*, which is also said to be like the state described

120. *Lata'if*, p. 18, anecdote 24.

121. Possibly the *Futuh-i Makkiya* of Ibn al-'Arabi rather than the comparatively rare Sufi work called *Risala Makkiya* listed by Brocklemann.

122. Cf. Nizam al din Awrangabadi, *Nizam al-qulub*, Delhi Mujtaba'i Press 1309 especially pp. 5-8. For a description of *dhikrs* earlier in use among the Chishtis, see Sayyid Muhammad Gesudaraz, *Takmila-i Sharh-i Adab al-muridin* translated into Urdu as *Ruh-i tasawwuf* by Shabbir Hasan Chisht Nizami, Delhi n.d.c. 1955, p. 216-25. For recurrence of the term see Hajji Imdad Allah, op. cit, pp. 20-1.

123. *Lata'if*, p. 16.

in the opening verses of the Sura of the Earthquake : "When the earth is shaken with her (final) earthquake and the earth yieldeth up her burdens, and man saith, "What aileth her ?" " (*Qur'an*, XCIX, 1-3).

The time of the appearance of *sultan-i dhikr* is between sleeping and waking, when the external senses are weak; but after internal spiritual discipline has been established, waking and sleeping are alike, and sometimes *sultan-i dhikr* occurs during complete wakefulness. At the beginning of one's spiritual life, *Sultan-i dhikr* is completely terrifying; but a familiarity or liking is engendered by its repeated occurrence, the terror diminishes and the subject comes to long every moment for this condition. Consciousness of the world and its inhabitants departs, but some consciousness of self remains; and the subject knows that the condition has befallen him. But sometimes consciousness of self also is obliterated, and in this immersion occurs the *fana' al-fana'* or 'annihilation of annihilation'.¹²⁴

A description of the actual sensation of *sultan i dhikr* is difficult because the spiritual world cannot be described: one can only indicate it by similes. It is as if a strong and blustering wind has engulfed a tree already ravaged by autumn, and shakes it till the roots quake in the earth; and no leaf or branch is left in peace but quivers and sways to left and right. When *sultan-i dhikr* occurs there is a roaring as of thunder and one's fear is the fear that the whole of heaven is falling on one's head. While the ears are filled with thunder a quaking and a trembling occurs through the whole body. *Sultan-i-dhikr* rising inside the human frame purifies it of darkneses. Or it is as if a weak man has fallen into a river in flood and the force of the waters gives him no chance to return. The racing waters produce a terrible noise, which engulfs the orifices of his ears while his whole being is dashed to pieces by the force of the waves.¹²⁵

The experience of *sultan-i dhikr* evidently occupied a dominant position in the mystical life of 'Abd al-Quddus, but his son and biographer also describes other conditions of ecstasy which were not directly induced by *dhikr* or other austerities, in which the Shaykh was overwhelmed with emotion, often as a result of a combination of religious and aesthetic sensibilities. Similar anecdotes to those related of him are found in the biographical literature concerning the great Shaykhs of the Chishti *silsila* in India during the thirteenth and fourteenth

124. *Lata'if*—pp. 16-7.

125. *Lata'if*, pp. 17-8.

centuries; and a genral rsemblance to patterns of behaviour established among the Sufis of Khurasan in the tenth and eleventh Christian centuries can easily be discerned. The fact that such ecstatic behaviour is canalised or stereotyped and common to a large number of people does not necessarily affect of the experience for the subject and those who associated with him : but expectations of phenomena in a community help to induce and condition such phenomena. Writing around 1880 A.D. on an allied topic, Sir Richard Temple observed, "Saints and holy men are still a living power in the India of today, and miracles are worked all round as a matter of daily occurrence and not of much wonder."¹²⁶ In pre-Mughal India within the Muslim community Sufi Shaykhs were leaders in fashions of religious sensibility, in which piety is with difficulty distinguished from aesthetic reaction to literary and musical forms: and the violent tenor of life and wasteful distribution of the resource of the society in which they lived greatly encouraged such sensibility. From the limited and one-sided biographical evidence which survives to us it sometimes seems as if the social scene of the Dehli Sultanate was largely populated by madmen of a religious turn of mind and by Sufi Shaykhs who, although subject to the same symptoms of ecstasy and mental derangement, did not sink into this class of *divanagan* mainly as a consequence of their superior education and social status. States of mystical intoxication, held in check by learning and a concern for the appearance of Mulsim orthodoxy, were almost essential to the reputation of a medieval *pir*.

'Abd al-Quddus in his boyhood used to frequent the company of 'a gathering of accomplished people' (*majma'i afazil*) also described as 'several naked madmen, men of God', and these used to shout Persian verses at him.¹²⁷ He also sought out the company of other 'madmen' (*divanagan*).¹²⁸ On instructions conveyed to him in a dream by Shaykh Ahmad 'Abd al-Haqq, he took up residence in the house of a tailor subject to mystical illuminations.¹²⁹

Till quite late in life 'Abd al-Quddus was in the habit of setting out to roam the hills and jungles, partly impelled by a distaste for those in worldly employment (*ahl-i dunya*) but also in a high state of mystical excitement. On some of these occasions groups of disciples used to follow him, not daring to approach him in order to turn him

126. Sir Richard C. Temple, *The legends of the Panjab*, Bombay n.d., I, p. xv.

127. *Lata'if*, p. 8.

128. *Lata'if*, pp. 9-10.

129. *Lata'if*, p. 19.

back to the *khanqah*, or risking a terrible sight if they did so.¹³⁰ Once on such a sortie he was approached by Afghan disciples, the sons of 'Umar Khan Sarvani (who had established him at considerable expense in the *khanqah* at Shahabad) ; 'Abd al-Quddus' condition 'changed', his eyes turned up until only the whites were visible and he fell down unconscious. The unfortunate young Afghans retired, fearing that either the Shaykh would expire or harm would befall themselves. After their departure he spent the night at the place where they had accosted him, speaking *shathiyat* (Sufi ecstatic outpourings). Only after the following day did he return to the *khanqah*.¹³¹ Other rambles in the jungle lasted for two or three days.¹³²

His states of mystical intoxication (*hal-i sukr u masti*) frequently reduced 'Abd al-Quddus to an inability to speak ; (but this was sometimes followed by a torrent of speech regarding divine mysteries).¹³³ In this latter state on one occasion he expounded *tafsir*, but not according to any of the known commentaries upon the Qur'an.¹³⁴ Such of his *shathiyat* or outpourings when in this state of mystical intoxication as are recorded in the *Lata'if* are of a somewhat conventional nature ; at least one of them had previously been among Ahmad 'Abd al-Haqq's *shathiyat*. "I can strike the sky down to the ground." "If God wills, I will take my tent to paradise." "The umbrella of royalty is over the heads of my children."¹³⁵ "O freinds, the veil remains not ! Jibra'il says, God's command is one of mercy !" Most of these utterances were during *sama'*. On one occasion he testified that he was present when Moses conversed with God ; and then added, "I do not say (this) : with my tongue God says 'I'." On another occasion he announced that he had bestowed paradise upon the *qavval* who was singing before him.¹³⁶

The relation between religious and aesthetic sensibility in such ecstasies and the physical and social consequences of their occurrence are illustrated by two anecdotes of the period when Rukn al-din was studying at Dehli and his father had come from Shahabad to join him.

130. *Lata'if*, pp. 18-9.

131. *Lata'if*, p. 39.

132. *Lata'if*, pp. 18-9.

133. *Lata'if*, p. 60.

134. Loc. cit.

135. Cf. *Anwaral- 'uyun*, p. 103.

136. *Lata'if*, pp. 60-2.

On one occasion, the Friday prayers were being performed in a mosque in Dehli, the administration of which had been entrusted to Rukn al-din or to him and his father jointly. The Khatib was not present and Rukn al-din therefore read the *khutba* himself. This was a composition of 'Abd al-Quddus and his son in reading it was somewhat overcome by emotion. 'Abd al-Quddus then passed into an ecstatic state and gave a painful shriek (*na'ra-i dardnak*). In this state of spiritual intoxication he correctly performed the Friday prayers. At their conclusion he saw among the congregation another Shaykh who was accompanied by two of his own *qavvals*. 'Abd al Quddus seized him in his embrace and the *qavvals* began to sing, and to this accompaniment they set out on a several mile pilgrimage to the tomb of Qutb al-din Bakhtyar Kaki,"¹³⁷ passing in *sama'* and *raqs* (mystical dancing) through the bazaar of Delhi towards the Baghdad Gate. But on the way one Shaykh 'Abd al-Samad Jawnpuri came out into the street, grasped 'Abd al-Quddus and led him inside his own *khanqah*. Many *qavvals* were there and scenes of increasing rapture took place until the break for the night prayer. 'Abd al-Quddus then argued with 'Abd al-Samad concerning the execution of Mansur ibn al-Hallaj (the tenth century Sufi martyr of Baghdad), saying that had he been alive at the time he would not have permitted it : and he was driven to renewed ecstasy by the thought that both the blood of Mansur and the ink of the Imam Yusuf who codemned him fell in drops which formed the shape of the letters of Allah's name.¹³⁸

On another occasion during this stay in Dehli, at Rukn al-din's suggestion 'Abd al-Quddus went to hear a certain Mawlana Shu'ayb, famous for his sweet voice, expounding *tafsir* from the *mimbar* ('pul pit'). Hearing his discourse 'Abd al-Quddus fell into an ecstasy and himself began to explain Divine mysteries, while Mawlana Shu'ayb

137. The *dargahs* of Shaykh Nizam al-din Awliya' and Khwaja Qutb al-din Bakhtyar Kaki were the two holiest sufi shrines of Dehli. The especial significance of the intention of 'Abd al-Quddus to perform pilgrimage (*ziyarat*) to this *dargah* when in such an elevated state derives from the circumstances of the death of Qutb al-din, who in the year 633/1235-6 passed away after an ecstasy of four days, induced by the signing of a couplet from a *ghazal* attributed to Ahmad-i-Jam : see *Siyar al-awliya'*, p. 55-6; *Siyar al-'arifin*, p. 30 : *Siyar al-aqtab*, p. 160.

138. *Lata'if*, p. 48. A drop of ink of coloured liquid falling at an oblique angle upon paper or some similarly absorptive surface makes a stain, 6 rounded at the base and sharply crested at the top, which resembles the Arabic letters of the name Allah. The same conceit is found with regard to the blood spurting from the roots of the hair of Qutb-al-din in the account of his death in the *Siyar al-aqtab* (Note 137, above).

waited in vain for an opportunity to confer with him. But 'Abd al-Quddus' ecstasy did not come to an end and in this condition Rukn al-din mounted him upon horse and took him away. They stopped for the evening prayer at the mosque of one Shaykh Nasir al-din Danishmand. When those who were present there observed the trembling and bodily agitation of 'Abd al-Quddus, they inquired from his son what the illness was from which he was suffering and why he had left his house when he was so unwell? But in spite of these symptoms 'Abd al-Quddus performed with propriety his ablutions and prayers.¹³⁹

The state of mystic intoxication (*sukr*) depicted in these anecdotes is balanced in other anecdotes by the account of the fulfilment by 'Abd al-Quddus in his sobriety (*sahw*) of the social role and obligations incumbent upon a Sufi Shaykh of note. As a Pir he took his duty of instructing his *murids* very seriously. The range of his teaching extended to formal Islamic subjects which he had neglected in his own youth.¹⁴⁰ Muhammad Ghawthi remarks on the 'utility' of the commentaries which 'Abd al-Quddus wrote upon standard Sufi works.¹⁴¹ He took pains also in teaching to his disciples the physical techniques which produced mystical states of consciousness.¹⁴²

Though he urged the importance of remaining unattached to one's family (*ahl-i khana*),¹⁴³ the only hardships to which he subjected his own wife and children were of a mild character;¹⁴⁴ 'Abd al-Quddus' wife is mentioned by his son and biographer as 'one of the saints of God' and she evidently enjoyed some celebrity for her dreams foretelling the future.¹⁴⁵ From Rukn al-din's account it would also appear that the sons of 'Abd al-Quddus had a warm personal affection for him. The additions to the *Lata'if* made by Dattu Sarvani also that 'Abd al-Quddus' relations with the Afghan soldiers who became his *murids* were not merely those of a personally remote Pir of formidable charisma. He listened with sympathy to their accounts of their affairs,

139. *Lata'if*, p. 61.

140. See above, note 11.

141. Ghawthi, op. cit., f. 152 A.

142. *Rushd-nama*, p. 16, note 3 of marginal commentary.

143. *Rushd-nama* p.

144. *Lata'if*, pp. 12-3: an anecdote of lack of food in the house and 'Abd al-Quddus suggesting to his eldest son that they might be going to paradise.

145. *Lata'if*, p. 63.

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which may have been very remote from anything in his own personal experience, and he gave them reassurance.¹⁴⁶

Nevertheless there is little evidence in the *Lata'if* of the delicacy of moral feeling, extended sympathy with suffering humanity and overflowing sensibility (*dard*) which had characterised the behaviour of the great Chishti Shaykhs of the earlier Dehli Sultanate : and the bagiology of Ahmad 'Abd al-Haqq by 'Abd al-Quddus himself nowhere contains a mention of these characteristics. Instead the elements of ecstasy and *jalal*, a kind of wrathful splendour, predominate. In anecdote after anecdote those who act contrary to the dignity of Ahmad 'Abd al-Haqq, even though unintentionally, are quickly visited with disaster and death. His wife is continually weeping for their children, whom he has caused to depart to another world because the noise of their playing disturbed him at his devotions.¹⁴⁷ One would-be disciple, when he encounters the awesome glance of the Shaykh, is driven crazy and dies.¹⁴⁸ The ecstasies and the miracles of Ahmad 'Abd al-Haqq are usually frightening : and there is no sign that he possessed any moral virtues unconnected with his devotions. The standards of morality prevailing in his *khanqah* are somewhat unhappily illustrated by an anecdote of how Ahmad 'Abd al-Haqq went out into the jungle with some of his disciples and there appeared to die : the immediate reaction of his disciples was not grief, but terror lest they should be accused of having murdered their Pir for the sake of some particularly large offering from a passer-by.¹⁴⁹ Rukn al-din's anecdotes of 'Abd al-Quddus, while they are similarly devoid of any account of acts of disinterested and general benevolence, show that 'Abd al-Quddus' ordinary human relationships were generally of greater benignity than those of his exemplar.

(iv) *Political attitudes :*

'Abd al-Quddus also appears to have departed from the practice of Ahmad 'Abd al-Haqq in his relationships with the Muslim ruling classes of Northern India. His account particularly commends Ahmad 'Abd al-Haqq's refusal to accept, for the maintenance of the Rudawli

146. *Lata'if*, p. 71. and other anecdotes told by Dattu Sarvani: see S. Digby op. cit.

147. *Anwar al 'uyun* pp. 50-1; for anecdotes of retribution, see pp. 45-9, 54.

148. *Anwar al 'uyun*, 100-1.

149. *Anwar al 'uyun*, pp. 52-3.

CC-0. Agamniyam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh. 160 This *khanqah*, any grant of land from Sultan Ibrahim of Jampur. This is in the earlier tradition of the Chishti *silsila*, whose disinterestedness is much praised by medieval hagiographers. Chishti standrads were often satisfied by a refusal of direct contact with the Sultan and of permanent grants of maintenance, which was compensated by the acceptance of *futuhat*, non-recurrent gifts, sufficing to provide on a day to day basis for the sometimes extensive *khanqah* establishments and their hangers-on. It has been noted earlier that no land grants were accepted by Ahmad 'Abd al-Haqq's successors at Rudawli in the following fifty years ; but, on 'Abd al-Quddus' testimony, the flow of *futuhat* must have been constant.¹⁵¹

'Abd al-Quddus in his practice does not show the same scrupulosity as he attributes to his predecessors. His letters to Sikandar Lodi, to Babur and to Humayun contain allusions to the consternation of the religious classes at the cancellation of their permanent *waza'if* (grants, though whether of allotment or stipend is not clear) : to the abominable innovation of collecting '*ushr* and other dues on land held by them : and to the importance, while making grants of land to them, of giving them in tax-free tenure.

Though they are filled with moral exhortations, 'Abd al-Qudus' letters to the rulers of Hindostan and to their high officers are not immediately edifying to the modern reader ; but it is nevertheless important to understand the point of view of the writer, which is still widely held in old-fashioned Muslim circles in India. God created the world in order that He might be known. The finest flower of creation, the figure for whom creation was created was the Sufi who 'knew' God. Hence for those who held worldly power and worldly possessions the best of all pious acts was to cherish the Sufi and to see that he had clothing, food, peace and freedom from worldly cares. The 'poor' (*fugara*) and the weak (*zu'afa*) when they are mentioned in the letters of 'Abd al-Quddus, often with the Prophet's injunction to care for them, are not the underprivileged masses. They are identified with the 'learned' (*'ulama*), the 'pious' (*sulaha*) and the Shaykhs (*masha'ikh*) in addition to such synonyms (strangely convergent) as *ghuraba* and *masakin*.¹⁵² All these are a single 'group' (*ta'ifa*) and the terms are in fact used almost interchangeably for the Muslim religious

150. *Anwar al'uyun*, pp. 31-3 (*typescript*, above p. 3).

151. *Anwar al'uyun*, p. 35.

152. Both words are used indiscriminately in the sense of 'poor' : they have more specific meanings of 'foreigners' and 'settled population'.

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population—those who were permanently on the premises of *khanqahs*, schools and mosques, headed by such men as 'Abd al-Quddus himself, playing a varied role as a Sufi of powerful *barakat* with direct 'knowledge' of the Deity, an '*alim* or scholar of traditional Islamic disciplines, an inculcator of morals in the community and an organizer of elementary religious instruction and communal prayers. The contradictions between these roles did not prevent Sufi Shaykhs from undertaking them all. In the medieval Muslim community such chrismatic figures had a widely recognized claim to extensive financial support. The provision of such support was thought to bring fortune in this world and in the world to come. Beside such earlier figure as Shaykh Ahmad-i Jam, 'Abd al-Quddus does not appear greedy or undignified in his demands from the rich and the powerful.¹⁵³

The letters of 'Abd al-Quddus to rulers and their officers are of varying length but mostly very like one another in their main content, the same Persian phrases and the same *hadiths* appearing again and again. The circumstances of the composition of three of the letters to noblemen are somewhat unusual. The first of these is a letter of introduction for Shaykh Khan Khizr Jawnpuri (the compiler of the collection of letters) addressed to Masnad-i 'ali Shaykh Sulayman Farmuli, evidently a Lodi military commandar. The bearer has come to the army for a special reason (*zarurate*). For many years he has enjoyed the benefits of the company of 'Abd al-Quddus and his teaching and he is his *khalifa*. He is very holy (*bi-ghayat buzurgwar-and*) and very much occupied with God. If the recipient of the letter meets him it will be as if he was meeting 'Abd al-Quddus himself'.¹⁵⁴

Another of the less usual letters of 'Abd al-Quddus is addressed to Dilavar Khan, son of Mian Bhu'a, the chief minister of Sikandar Lodi. It alludes to a personal predicament of the writer. As mentioned above, 'Abd al-Quddus was in Dehli for a while in the first years of the sixteenth century, when Rukn al-din was a student there; and they had charge of a congregational mosque, probably the *Moth ki masjid* built by Mian Bhu'a.¹⁵⁵ After Mian Bhu'a's death it is evident that his son made no provision for the maintenance of 'Abd al-Quddus and his establishment at Dehli.

153. Sadid al-din Muhammad Ghaznavi, *Maqamat-i Zhinda pil*, ed. Heshmat Moayed, Tehran 1961; cf. the sketch of the character of the Shaykh in the introduction of the editor, pp. 16-9.

154. *Maktubat i Quddusiya*, Dehli 1287, pp 40-1, *Maktub* 29 (for edition see note 91); reproduced in I. Quddusi pp. 451-2.

155. Cf. *Lata'if*, pp. 46, 48, 61 for this period in Dehli.

The late Mian Bhu'a, 'Abd al-Quddus wrote to Dilavar Khan, was a friend of God and of the friends of God and the heavens and the earth grieve at his loss. Inevitably the writer had great hopes and was staying at this place on account of his kindness. He has now no other resource than patience and, reciting "I am God's and unto Him I am returning", will have to go his own way. (The Qur'anic quotation neatly conveys the additional impression that Dilavar Khan has brought him to death's door by his stinginess).¹⁵⁶

Another departure from the normal content of the letters to secular dignitaries is one of several addressed to Khavass Khan, which expresses with warmth the desire of 'Abd al-Quddus for a meeting. A possibility which is not made explicit in the letter is that the meeting desired was with the Sultan, Sikandar Lodi, rather than Khavass Khan, who may have been acting as the royal chamberlain.¹⁵⁷

A letter addressed to Haybat Khan Sarvani acknowledges the receipt of a letter with news of Haybat Khan's safe return from a military campaign. It exhorts him to turn from the army of this world to heavenly command (*sipahbudi-i jahan-i baqi*) and to the 'cultivation of hearts' (*'imarat-i dilha*).¹⁵⁸ A letter of 'Abd al-Quddus was sent to the Mughal commander Tardi Beg, evidently on the occasion of his safe return to court after a campaign against rebels (*zaliman u mufsidan*).¹⁵⁹ Another to the same commander clearly acknowledges the receipt of a gift.¹⁶⁰ The remainder of the correspondence of 'Abd al-Quddus addressed to royal officers appears to be reminders, wrapped in elegant and sanctified phrases, of their obligation to support men of religion ; and of the benefits which will accrue to them in this world and the next when they do so.

A letter to Humayun before his accession really belongs to the same class. It states that 'Abd al-Quddus has heard of the prince's attainments, of his consultation with men of learning and of peace, and of his regard for Sufis. The writer renders thanks to God and offers up prayers for Humayun's preservation.¹⁶¹

156. *Maktubat-i Quddusiya*, No. 62: I. Quddusi, pp. 449-51.

157. *Maktubat-i Quddusiya*, pp. 41-2, No. 30 : I. Quddusi, p. 445.

158. *Maktubat-i Quddusiya*, pp. 12-15, No. 10 : I. Quddusi, pp. 439-442.

159. *Maktubat-i Quddusiya*, pp. 255-6, No. 131 : I. Quddusi, p. 460.

160. *Maktubat-i Quddusiya*, pp. 224-5, 119 : I. Quddusi, pp. 459-60.

161. *Maktubat-i Quddusiya*, pp. 337-8, No. 170 : I. Quddusi, p. 457.

There remain three letters addressed to reigning monarchs, to Sikandar Lodi, Babur and Humayun. These are also reminders of the obligations of the holders of worldly power to Muslim men of religion, but the first two of them express at greater length than elsewhere the political philosophy of 'Abd al-Quddus. The earliest, addressed to Sikandar Lodi, begins with the reflexion that monarchy is the noblest of worldly occupations. The operation of justice ('*adl*') by a ruler for a single moment is better than sixty years of worship ('*ibadat*'). Now that the Sultan has chastised the rebellious and the wicked with the sword and peace reigns, he should honour the Muslim religious classes (*ta'ifa-i a'imma u 'ulama' u zu'afa*) in such a way that they attain a loftier dignity in his kingdom than in any age or clime. But instead of this they are plunged into the deepest grief and are on the verge of extinction on account of his wicked action in cancelling their permanent grants (*waza'if*). They have none other to whom they can appeal. If he neglects to cherish this class—which God forbid!—a cry for redress (*damar*, literally 'smoke') will arise: (the implication is that worldly events are influenced and Kings are made and unmade by the access to supernatural powers of the Man of God).¹⁶² Fortune in this world and felicity in the world to come depend upon two acts, the service of God with sincere devotion and the service of man with all one's power. (It has been noted above that the 'service of man'—*khidmat-i khalq*—, or of the poor, the weak etc. is taken in the peculiar and limited sense of the Muslim religious 'poor'). The most perfect conjunction of these two acts is in kingly rule (*saltanat*), to attain which the high virtue of *futuwwa* (generosity, with many other 'chivalric' connotations)¹⁶³ is necessary. With high resolution therefore, the Sultan should proffer to 'the poor and the pious' money and station, so that in their service he may attain this felicity.¹⁶⁴

In the letter to Babur, whom possibly he regarded as a conqueror from the lands of Islam who would make a clean sweep of existing abuses, 'Abd al-Quddus developed some of the themes which have appeared in the letter to Sikandar Lodi. In the opening phrases after the royal titles, 'Abd al-Quddus introduces himself in the manner of a *darvesh*. He then commends the emperor for having acted in accordance with the opinions of the '*Ulama* and for having shown attachment to Sufis and made provision for them. Thus the emperor

162. A numerous class of anecdotes concerns the bestowal of kingship by Sufi Pirs; and the deposition of monarchs who had offended against their dignity.

163. See E 1² s.v. *futuwwa*.

164. *Maktubat-i Quddusiya*, pp. 44-6; I. Quddusi, pp. 437-9.

has recognized the worth of the religious classes (*arbab-i 'ilm u m'a rifai*) and the writer has full hopes that his own expectations will be fulfilled. The emperor should so honour the Muslim religious classes (*ta'ifa-i 'ulama' u a'imma u zu'afa*) that they will reach a loftier dignity than in any age and clime ; and he should hold impermissible and abominable the imposition of *'ushr* upon (*the* lands of) their livelihood. From such an abominable imposition the world will grow dark : and a calamity and a wrathful visitation will be engendered when the cry for redress (*damar*) rises up from *faqirs*. No wise man will fall into this pit and perish.

May the emperor remit this and no ill will befall. The religious classes will dwell at ease, occupied with prayers for the emperor and for the wellbeing of all Muslims. God has given Babur sovereignty : if he neglects to care for the Muslim religious classes (*fuqara' u zu'afa' u 'ulama' u sulaha' u masha'ikh u masakin*) a cry for redress (*damar*) will rise up from the land. Fortune in this world and in the next lies in the case of this class (*ta'ifa*).

The *'arif* ('knower' of God) cares nought for this world. The love of the world and of its goods have many evil consequences : but when these goods are spent in God's work and are preferred for the wellbeing of the people of God (*ahl-i Haqq*), a great reward will be laid up in the world to come. The shadow of the royal justice should be cast over mankind and none should oppress anyone. The army should remain firm in the commandments and prohibitions of the *shar'* : prayers should be performed in congregation : learning and men of learning should be cherished : censors (*muhtasiban*) should patrol the bazaars of every city to enforce the *shar'*.

In this auspicious reign the acts of government should be above suspicion (of departure from the prescriptions of Islamic law) just as they were in every respect in the time of the just Caliphs (*khulafa'-i rashidin*). Muslims of pure and zealous faith should be appointed to posts of government in the countryside (*dar vilayat* : the next sentence makes it clear that 'Abd al-Quddus' mind was running on taxes farmed out to Hindu financiers and the filling of clerky posts by Hindus). In a Muslim administration and an Islamic polity no non-Muslim (*kafir*) should enjoy a governmental post or an assignment of revenue (*vajh*). Non-Muslims should not wield the pen in offices and they should not be commanders and tax-gatherers. In the *shar'* the subordination of *kafirs* is enjoined ; and in accordance

165. *Maktubat-i Quddusiya*, pp 335-7, No. 169 ; I. Quddusi, pp. 453-6.

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 with it they should be humbled, subordinated and made to pay tax. *Jizya* and *zakat* upon their property should be collected according to the prescriptions of the *shar'*. *Kafirs* should be forbidden to dress like Muslims to conceal their unbelief and they should be prohibited from practising heathen observances ostentatiously and publicly. In this manner the light of Islam will be maintained in its full glory.¹⁶⁵

The letter to Humayun as a reigning monarch is comparatively brief. It alludes to his victorious return from a campaign. This may be the Gujarat campaign of 1535 A.D., although only by a stretch of the imagination can this be described as victorious;¹⁶⁶ we know that 'Abd al-Quddus waited upon Humayun at Agra in 1536 A.D.¹⁶⁷ Another possible occasion is at the outset of his reign, on his return from his campaign against the Raja of Kalinjar in 1531 A.D.¹⁶⁸ This letter again expresses the hope that under this sovereign the religious classes (*ta'ifa-i a'imma u fuqara'*) will be so secure and prosperous that they will reach a loftier station than in any age or clime. Whatever is bestowed upon them ought to be in tax-free tenure (*marfu' al-qalam*) to prevent trouble being caused to them in their devotions by base people (*na-ahlan*). So day by day the light of Islam will be increased.¹⁶⁹

(v) *Attitudes towards the Indian environment :*

The straightforward antithesis in patterns of personality which used to be assumed by most writers on medieval Indian Muslim history,—between narrow-minded and bigoted Sunnis on the one hand and such Sufis as were broad-minded pantheists interested in Hinduism on the other, is seldom found in this simple form. A survey of the activities and attitudes of 'Abd al-Quddus has revealed him as an advocate of Sunni orthodoxy to whom a strong suspicion of heretical practices and beliefs must cling. He was a believer in the immanence of God in Creation, who at the same time advocated the severest application of Muslim legal theory in the treatment of Hindus. But, while expressing this last attitude, 'Abd al-Quddus drew upon Yogic tradition in his own practice of techniques for the attainment of ecstasy; and his explanation of these techniques given to his disciples

166. The Gujarat campaign led to no permanent gains and Humayun's return to Agra was a rush to prevent Askari arriving before him.

167. S. Digby, op. cit., pp. 56, 61 : *Lata'if*, p. 71.

168. Probably in 1531 after Humayun's ascent of the throne, and not before it as in some sources.

169. *Maktubat-i Quddusiya*, pp. 338-9, No. 171 : I. Quddusi, pp. 458-9.

are conceived partly in terms of Yogic physiological concepts, as will be made clear below. His own interpretations of Nathapanthi Yogic traditions are also of interest, differing from those which are found elsewhere. He was a poet of some merit in Hindi and many of the verses which he quoted show a fondness for the love poetry of the North Indian countryside. Is there any simple explanation of the marked contrast between these sympathetic attitudes and the intolerant views expressed in the letter to Babur?

Medieval Indian Muslims found themselves in their relationship with the non-Muslim Indian environment in what has recently been called "the alternating and simultaneous processes of mutual attraction and repulsion."¹⁷⁰ An anecdote in the *Lata'if-i Quddusi* recording an experience of the Afghan soldier *murid* Dattu Sarvani well illustrates the instability of this relationship. In Bihar in 1528 A.D. Dattu became friendly with a *sannyasi* called Anant Guru, who was then attending the defeated Afghan forces and promising them spiritual aid in their struggles against the Mughals. "He talked well about God being One" : but 'Abd al-Quddus appeared in a dream to Dattu and warned him that he was a hereitic (*zindig*) and "not near to God."¹⁷¹

The tale may be considered a projection of the soldier *murid*'s subconscious rather than an expression of 'Abd al-Quddus' own attitude. However a condemnation of Jogis occurs in an important discussion of *wahdat al-wujud* in the main part of the *Lata'if*, and this probably represents a discourse of 'Abd al-Quddus noted down at the time when it was delivered :—

The manner in which certain unbelieving Jogis, who have not a trace of Islam in them, relate knowledge of spiritual matters and of the Divine Unity (*'ilm-i ma'rifat u wahdat*) and the way in which they gain control over their breath and display miracles is not hid from the wise : but do you not see how Pharaoh also—curses be upon him !—as he was possessed of supernatural powers claimed divinity ?¹⁷²

An interesting line of argument is also found in Rukn al-din's marginal notes to the *Rushd-nama*, in which he quotes an explanation by his father that the Jogis have misunderstood a point in their own physiological doctrines.¹⁷³ This echoes the remarks of an important Shaykh of the

170. Aziz Ahmad, *Studies in Islam in the Indian environment*, Oxford 1964, p. vii.

171. *Lata'if*, p. 74 : S. Digby, op. cit. 64-5.

172. *Lata'if*, p. 20.

173. See below (*typescript* pp. 45-6).

fourteenth century, Sharaf al-din Ahmad Maneri, who on one occasion maintained that the Jogis of his own day did not understand the traditions of mystical knowledge which had been handed down to them.¹⁷⁴ But on the evidence of the passage cited above we cannot convict 'Abd al-Quddus of being oversympathetic to the claims of living Jogis.

Are the contradictions in 'Abd al-Quddus' attitudes towards Jogis and other classes of Hindus the result of changes in his opinions in the course of his life? The basis for such a conjecture would be that the *Rushd-nama* is a work of his youth, while the letter to Babur and the remarks about Jogis quoted above were products of his old age. But such a view must be rejected on the evidence of Rukn al-din's marginal glosses to the *Rushd-nama* as well as that of his concluding note to it.¹⁷⁵ In his latter years 'Abd al-Quddus used to teach the *Rushd-nama* to his disciples and used to impart to them Yogic techniques and doctrines which are examined below. Many years after the move to Shahabad he taught the Arabic or Persian adaptation of the *Amritkund*, a Yogic manual to Shaykh Sulayman Mandavi in return for lessons in Qur'anic recitation.¹⁷⁶ Within a few years of writing the *Rushd-nama*, he had felt impelled to leave his ancestral home because it had temporarily come under Hindu domination.¹⁷⁷ Yet in the letters of the Shahabad period he continued to quote Hindi verses in his letters,¹⁷⁸ and quite late in life he still used to fall into ecstasy at the singing of Hindi verses, in one instance those sung behind the walls of a house in the same *muhalla* by a Hindu woman.¹⁷⁹ The available evidence in fact suggests that throughout his life 'Abd al-Quddus' attitudes towards the non-Muslim Indian environment were complex and contradictory—as are those of most educated human beings living in a background of mixed but divergent cultures and communities.

(vi) *Yogic elements in the teachings of 'Abd al-Quddus :*

Some of the Yogic influences on the thought of 'Abd al-Quddus may be the result of direct contacts with Jogis, and Rukn al-din may have

174. Zayn Badr 'Arabi, *Mukhkh al-ma'ani*, Ms. private coll., f. 100 B.

175. *Rushd-nama*, pp. 35-6.

176. *Lata'if*, p. 41, anecdote 45 : see Yusuf Husain, "*Haud [al-hayat : la version Arabe de l'Amratkund]*" in *Journal Asiatique*, CCXIII, 291-344. The relationship between the various Arabic and Persian, versions of this Yogic manual have not yet been the subject of detailed research.

177. *Lata'if*, pp. 30-1 : see above (*typescript*, pp. 6-7).

178. *Lata'if*, p. 62.

179. *Lata'if*, p. 108.

been referring to such contacts when he mentioned his father's association with 'all kinds of men'.¹⁸⁰ A later source relates an encounter between 'Abd al-Quddus and a Jogi previously in residence at Gangoh, whom he subdued by superior magical powers and converted to Islam :¹⁸¹ little reliance is to be placed on the historicity of this anecdote, which is in a familiar hagiographical pattern.¹⁸² There may have been centres of Natha-panthi or other Yogic tradition in the countryside near Rudawli: the name of Siddhawr, ancient Siddhapura where 'Abd al-Quddus went for elementary Islamic teaching—is suggestive. But the *Rushd-nama* accommodates and adapts Yogic concepts with considerable skill to fit them into a Sufi theological framework. It is a production of 'Abd al-Quddus in his youth. Both these factors suggest that he was drawing upon a tradition already current in the *Rudawli dargah*.

In the *Anwar al-'uyun* there are three anecdotes which may indicate that Ahmad 'Abd al-Haqq adopted Yogic ideas or practices not previously found in his branch of the Chishti *silsila*. When Ahmad 'Abd al-Haqq, travelling eastwards after Taimur's invasion of 1398 A.D., arrived at Pandwa, the capital city of the Sultans of Bengal, he resided with other, *darveshes* and *qalandars* upon the banks of the river, side by side with bands of Jogis. The Sultan of Bengal, struck by the better treatment which, when roaming around his city in disguise, he had received at the hands of the Jogis, threatened to drive out the Sufis and *qalandars*.¹⁸³ The Sultan's wanderings in disguise and his threat probably belong to legend, but the dwelling of the Sufis and the Jogis side by side is not unlikely. (From other anecdotes of Ahmad 'Abd al-Haqq's eastern wanderings it appears that he was living in great poverty, held in little esteem.¹⁸⁴ His extensive association with these Jogis, whose generosity in sharing their food with all-comers is mentioned in the anecdote, is not improbable).

On his return from Bengal to his birthplace of Rudawli an event took place which suggests that Ahmad 'Abd al-Haqq had profited from his recent association with these Jogis ; in Bihar he was buried alive for six months. On his emergence from the earth we are told that he assumed

180. *Lata'if*, p. 19 : see above (*typescript*) p. 13).

181. Muhammad Akram Barasawi, *Iqtibas al-anwar*, Lahore 1895, p. 237.

182. For an analysis see the present writer's forthcoming paper "Anecdotes of Jogis in Sufi hagiography" in the *Proceedings of the seminar on aspects of religion in South Asia* held in London, 1970-1.

183. *Anwar al-'uyun*, pp. 23-5.

184. *Anwar al-'uyun*, pp. 26-7, 53-4.

authority as a Sufi Shaykh and began to incite allegiances.¹⁸⁵ Ahmed 'Abd al-Haqq is also described by 'Abd al-Quddus as causing a disciple to be buried alive, sitting on a mat on the ground in which he was buried and, after a fortnight had elapsed, taking the disciple out of the ground and bestowing his *khilafat* upon him.¹⁸⁶ This practice of burial alive and resuscitation does not, to my knowledge, appear elsewhere in Sufi literature; but it is a striking and familiar Nathapanthi Yogic practice, examples of which are still occasionally reported in Indian newspapers. Such burials alive are generally undertaken amid considerable publicity and in circumstances which suggest that one object of the exercise is to secure a hold upon the devotions of the local population.¹⁸⁷

A further parallel of the Rudawli tradition with Yogic practice may be coincidental. The followers of Ahmad 'Abd al-Haqq, when they met, did not use the Qur'anic greeting '*salam 'alaykum*'. Instead of this they cried out '*Haqq, Haqq, Haqq, !*' (*Haqq*, 'the Truth' is both a prominent attribute of God and an allusion to the name of the Shaykh). In the Islamic world Qalandars had been in the habit of shouting '*Haqq, Haqq*,' but the use of the repeated word as a greeting recalls the '*Alakh, alakh*' or '*Ades, ades*' used by the Jogis.¹⁸⁸

The evidence is not conclusive but, in spite of the reference to his association with "all kinds of men," the Yogic traditions with which 'Abd al-Quddus was familiar may in fact have been handed down in the intimate and Muslim milieu of the Rudawli *dargah*. It is possible that this tradition may have been transmitted to him mainly by Shaykh Piyare who in other ways exercised an influence upon his development.

The *Rushd-nama* is a fairly short example of a class of composition popular among Indian Sufis, a *risala* or treatise in ornate Persian prose interspersed with Arabic quotations and Persian verses. It differs from other examples of the genre not only in the traces of Yogic influence which it reveals, but also in the number of Hindi verses which are inserted in the text. Although it is a comparatively short work, it lacks any strong connected chain of argument. It is a series of exhortations addressed to the

185. *Anwar al-'uyun*, pp. 27-8 : *bi-kamal rasidand u ba khalq bi-da' vat u mashaykhat mashghul shudahnd*.

186. *Anwar al-'uyun*, p. 90.

187. G. W. Briggs, *Gorakhnath and the Kanphata Yogis*, Calcutta 1938, pp. : W. Crooke, *Things Indian*, London 1906, pp. 201-2 : M. Eliade, *Yoga : immortality and freedom*, New York 1958, p. 57n.

188. *Anwar al-'uyun*, pp. 104-5 : Briggs, op. cit. : Nur Ahmad Chishti, *Tahqiqati Chishti*, Lahore, Hamidiyya Steam Press 1323/1907, p. 486.

talib or student of the *tariqa* concerning the Unity of Being, God's purpose in creating the world, the necessity of entering the Sufi Path, the re-assumption of created into Creator and other main ideas of the Sufi way of life. It has no description of successive stages along the Sufi Path (*maqamat*, *manazil*) or of the gradual progress of the *talib* along them. It merely advocated the necessity of embracing this Path.

At the opening 'Abd al-Quddus, "the sweeper of the dust of the *khanqah* of 'Abd al-Haqq states his intention of compiling an account of *tawhid* (the Divine Unity) in accordance with the words of his *ustad-i tariqat* (Master in the Sufi Path). If this phrase is not purely conventional, it can hardly refer to his nominal Pir, Shaykh Muhammad—a youth of his own age ; possibly it refers to his communion with Ahmad 'Abd al-Haqq, then forty years in his grave ; or his *ustad-i tariqat* may have been neither his living nor his dead Pir, but rather his companion and instructor in the *dargah*, Shaykh Piyare. 'Abd al-Quddus states that he will bring into his account of *tawhid* 'the word of every sect' (*sukhun bar ta'ifa*) in accordance with the *hadith*, "The Knower (*'arif*, i.e. the mystic) knows the Lord in all things, as all things are within the knowledge of the Lord. By this he meant that he was about to adduce non-Muslim as well as Muslim testimony in support of his view of the Divine Unity.

In the exhortations which follow 'Abd al-Quddus advances in support of each of his propositions verses (*ayats*) from the Qur'an, examples of *hadith-qudsi* or statements attributed by earlier Sufi mystics to God Himself, *hadiths* of the Prophet Muhammad and Persian and Hindi verses. While the Persian verses are almost all of an easily recognizable Sufi content, those in Hindi belong to a number of different or mixed traditions of religious or amatory poetry. The Hindi verses usually bring a particular exhortation to its close. A related topic is then introduced, often with the opening words 'O brother !' (*ay biradar*). There are however infrequent departures from this order, where the Hindi verses are succeeded without a break by further quotations in Arabic or Persian.

Although the *Rushd-nama* does not present a coherent argument, the following synopsis may be offered of the chain of thought of its contents :—

(i) God's purpose in Creation in the revelation of the hidden treasure of the Divine Nature (p. 2)

(ii) The creation of Adam : Man is the *khalifa* (deputy) of God : Man's blindness in failing to recognize that he himself is pure Spirit (p. 4).

(iii) A *pir* is necessary for guidance in the attempt to remove this blindness and to see God. (p. 5)

(iv) The plight of those who have no *pir* and therefore go astray (p. 5).

(v) Man is created for the service (*'ibadat*) of God : the quest for God is therefore his duty. This quest is the *'ilm-i tawhid* or science of the Divine Unity. *Tawhid* is the release by means of *'ilm-i ma'rifat* (mystic knowledge) and *talab* (quest) from Duality : it is the realization of the identity of Man with God (pp. 5-7).

(vi) Man, the created, is to God as the drop to the ocean ; this doctrine is a secret revealed (p. 7).

(vii) Exhortation to the drop to merge into the ocean, the Sufi *talib* to seek absorption into the Divine (p. 8).

(viii) Nothing in the interior or the exterior world is to be considered as apart from God (p. 8).

(ix) God considered as a royal falcon (*shahbaz*). Exhortation to the pigeon to fly up from the perishable world to the world which endures, there to become a morsel for this falcon (p. 9).

(x) Unless you die to the world before your death you will never reach the everlasting Beloved (p. 9).

(xi) Remember your home and look to your origin ! The vital breath (*nafas*) is installed by God (p. 10).

(xii) The place where you dwell is a prison, the world a house of misfortune (p. 10).

(xiii) You should travel : haste to your own country and find that which you desire (p. 10).

(xiv) You should guard your goods so that they arrive safely from the perishable world to the world enduring (p. 11).

(xv) The benefit of spiritual and physical wakefulness, which induce a mystical state (p. 11).

(xvi) The state of those 'killed with the dagger of Love' (p. 12).

(xvii) The necessity of *sama'* music which is purely instrumental has in it no attraction to the Divine and is therefore forbidden : it is animal where song is human. From song Love dominates the heart and Divine secrets are revealed. From this attraction mystic dance (*raqs*) is engendered (p. 12).

(xviii) Enter this day into the quest for God : if you do not do so now you will be sorely vexed by the inquiring angels at the Judgement (p. 12).

(xix) Those who enter not into the Love of God and seek not the intercession of His Prophet this day shall not do so later. As you sow, so shall you reap (p. 13).

(xx) Waste not your time upon that which is without meaning, lest injury befall you (p. 14).

(xxi) Preaching is vain, unless the hearer listens with his heart and acts upon it.

(xxii: no break in text). The *talib* when he possesses sincerity and faith and acts inwardly and outwardly according to the straight path, attains the degree of *pas-i anfas*. He then turns back the three breaths of his body into a single breath. He will then reach the station of everlasting life (p. 15)

(xxiii) This is a Divine mystery which must not be put to worldly purposes (p. 16).

(xxiv) Reading and writing are commendable but the Path of the Sufi is quite different (p. 16).

(xxv) All three stages (*maqams*—here equated with the three 'breaths') are within you (p. 16).

(xxvi) Concerning the *Ruh* or Spirit (breath) of God pervading creation (p. 18).

(xxvii : no break in text). On the necessity of *salat-i ma'kusa* (p. 18).

(xxviii) Look not to aught but God ! Similes from grammar : God as the *masdar* or noun of action, and as the cause (*asl*) of the consequence (*far'*) : God's regard for His servants (p. 19).

(xxix) The understanding of the vital principle (*nafs*) or breath (*nafas*) is the condition (*shart*, 'conditional clause') for the quest of the knowledge of God (p. 21).

(xxx) Similes based upon syntax (*nahw*). The importance of *samt* (direction, 'sentence order') : the direction towards God. God is exalted (*marfu'*, 'nominative') : all else is redundant. The act (*fi'l*, 'the verb') is occupation with God : God is the Beginner (*mubtadi*, 'the subject') (p. 23).

(xxxi) God is without qualification (*fa'ida*, 'a qualifying phrase') in His Essence (*dhat*) ; man is the edifice (*imarat*) of the Lord (p. 24.)

(xxxii) Water is not drawn from the well till there is a drawer. The Divine mysteries in the human heart are drawn out by *sama'*. The lawfulness of *sama'* for those to whom it pertains (*li ahlh*) : concerning *raqs* (p. 25).

(xxxiii) *Sijda* (prostration) in front of other than God is unlawful : but there is nought created which is apart from God, and therefore in whatsoever direction you perform *sijda* it will be lawful. Adam first prostrated himself before stars and moon, and eventually before God without form : God's immanence (p. 27).

(xxxiv) *Sijda* before a *pir* has an especial significance. All creation, beautiful and vile alike, is the manifestation of God, but the perfection of creation is Man. Man is of two kinds ; the man who is human in outward form and the man who is so in truth. The true Man is an example for the whole creation, 'the good tree' (*shajara-i tayyiba*) whose roots are firm, whose branches are in the sky. That Man, fair outside and pure within, is Perfect Man (*insan-i kamil*) : He is no other than the *Pir*, the Guide imbued with the attributes (*sifat*) of God Himself. The *Pir* is like a King visiting the house of a subject. Rabia of Basra, the *Pir* of her age, was circumambulated by the Ka'ba, which also performed *sijda* before her. The heart of the believer, who is the *Pir*, is the *haram* of God. Man's heart, the heart of the *Pir* is the mirror of God (pp. 30-2).

(xxxv) The *Pir* is the mirror : when the splendour of God is manifest in the *Pir*, he is himself turned to nought and nought but God remains (p. 32).

(xxxvi) When the secrets of the nature of the *Pir* are proven true, the *sijda* of his *murid* before him becomes not only permissible but obligatory. *Sijda* was incumbent upon bygone *ummats* (communities of believers), who prostrated themselves before father and mother, teacher, Sultan and *Pir*. With the coming of our Prophet (Muhammad) *sijda* ceased to be obligatory, except to God ; but it remains permissible, like the mid-monthly fasts (*ayyam-i bayz*). When you possess this great secret, you must not reveal it, else you will be unworthy of another secret (pp. 32-3).

(xxxvii) It is forbidden to reveal the secrets of Maliks and Khans, but this is the secret of God Himself, and if any man reveals it he is worthy of death. Although during the height of pleasure and in the intoxication of love one cannot restrain oneself, one must not be negligent in letting God's secrets fall into unworthy ears; yet they should not be concealed from the true seeker who is worthy of them (p. 33).

(xxxviii) You must look in one direction only in order to pass safely along this road. Know that you will surely come to Siri¹⁸⁹ (one of

189. Siri was the city built by 'Ala'al-din Muhammad Khilji (1296-1313), the most westerly section of the walled triple city of fourteenth century 'Old' Delhi, contrasted with Ferozabad, the garden city of Feroz Shah Tughluq (1351-88), which

the cities of Dehli : also *sayre*, 'an excursion)' and Mahmudabad : there you will see Sultan Nasir. You will come out of Siri: journey in Dili (Dehli ; *dile*, 'a heart') until you come to Mahmudabad : There you will see Sultan Mahmud, who is King of Dili, as indicated in the word of God, "A praiseworthy station and a victorious dominance (the place Mahmud and Sultan Nasir)." (For the explanation of this complicated simile based upon a Qur'anic phrase and a pun upon *Dili*, see below). This is the stage of faith (*taslim*, submission) and it is not attained except by the grace of God. Until you are wholly immersed in the river of the Divine Unity,¹⁹⁰ you will never reach the stage of faith : this is the Reality (p. 34).

This synopsis of the contents of the *Rushd-nama* reveals the preoccupations which have already been noted in the discussion of the religious practice of 'Abd al-Quddus. *Wahdat-al-wujud*, *sama'*, and *salat-i ma'kusa* are all strongly urged upon the *talib*. Apart from the Hindi verses (examined later in this paper) two sections (xv and xxii) show a strong influence of Yogic ideas in their doctrinal content. The conclusion (xxxviii) seems to support, in oblique and allusive language, the view expressed in the *Lata'if* that what 'Abd al-Quddus called *sultan-i dhikr* was the height of mystical experience, the goal to which the efforts of the *talib* led.

The conclusion is somewhat obfuscated by the geographical simile and plays upon words, probably deliberately so with the intention commended in the previous section (xxxvii) of preventing the secrets of God from falling into unworthy hands. The context of *maqaman mahmudan wa sultan-nasiran* (Qur'an, XVII, concluding words of 81,82) seen through a long tradition of pietistic and Sufi exegesis, would be familiar to the *talib* to whom the *Rushd-nama* is (in theory) addressed. "And watch (some part) of the night in the same, as a work of supererogation (*nafla*) for thee ; peradventure thy Lord will raise thee to an honourable station. And say, O Lord, cause me to enter with a favourable entry and cause me to come forth with a favourable coming forth ; and grant me from Thee an authority which prevails."¹⁹¹

probably provides a model for Mahmudabad, there being no actual city of Dehli known by this name.

190. The texts read Sultan Nasir in place of Sultan Nasir which the Qur'anic phrase requires. Nasir al-din and Mahmud being found among the royal names and titles of the Dehli (e.g. Nasir al-din Mahmud Shah, the last Tughluq Sultan), this may have set 'Abd al-Quddus' mind running on this strange punning allegory. If the geographical allegory is still adhered to, the cities of Dehli are set at varying distances from the Jamuna (Jun) : cf. the simile of the river in flood for *sultan-i dhikr* (typescript, p. 18).

191. Sale translates "an honourable place" and "an assisting power" : Pickthall, "a praised estate" and "a sustaining power" : Arberry, "a laudable station" and

The first of these two verses is a standard justificatory text for the performance by Sufis of supererogatory devotions and austerities. *Maqaman mahmudan* is taken according to tradition to be the station of intercession for others;¹⁹² in Muslim exegesis the following verse is often taken to refer to the Prophet's victorious re-entry into Makka, and this interpretation may have influenced 'Abd al-Quddus in his adoption of an elaborate-geographical simile.¹⁹³ 'A favourable (or just) ingoing' and 'a favourable (just) outgoing' can also here be taken as referring to the ingoing and outgoing breath in the performance of *dhikr* and the practice of breath-control (*habs-i dam, pas-i anfas*). The conclusion of the *Rushd-nama* is that beyond that stage there lies "immersion in the river (or sea) of Divine Unity."

The section of the *Rushd-nama* which urges the benefits of wakefulness as an aid to achieving ecstasy (xv) reveals Yogic influences. After remarking :

—"Therefore you must turn from negligence to awareness, and in your behaviour towards [men (*kar-i khalq*)] must remain ever immersed in the Divine Presence: and you must know that the place of sleep is in the head:" 'Abd al-Quddus quotes the following Hindi verses :

*gagana asthanai magana dvara
tahan basai nindra ghora andhara
bijli ki camaken ayai jai
panca tanta liye gagana samai*¹⁹⁴

In the court of heaven is the gateway of joy and there dwells the sleep of deepest darkness ; flashes of lightning come and go and the five senses are taken up and absorbed in heaven.

"O brother," the *Rushd-nama* continues, "this alludes to those slain by the dagger of love,¹⁹⁵ who, being exclusively devoted to God, have turned their gaze unto him and perceive not themselves in between."

"authority to help me". A worse problem is to find a translation of the phrases not in their context and in a rationalist exegesis of the Qur'an, but in the metaphysical sense which they are made to bear in medieval Sufi teaching.

192. G. Sale, *The Koran*, 1892 ed., p. 214n.

193. loc. cit.

194. *Rushd-nama*, p. 12 : *Gorakha-bani*, ed Barthwal, p. 60, No. 176 : see *typescript*, p. 59 and note 275.

195. The phrase echoes the couplet at the singing of which Khwaja Qutb al-din Bakhtyar Kaki died in ecstasy :—

For those slain with the dagger of faith (*taslim*) every moment from the Unseen there is a new life.

See above, Notes 126 and 127.

To those unfamiliar with *hatha-yoga* or *natha-panthi* literature the Hindi quatrain requires some explanation. Yoga is largely conceived by the *Natha-panthis* and other allied sects as a physiological process towards the attainment of perfection, and many of their exercises are designed to reverse the processes of nature from which the human frame decays. The *bindu-rasa*, seminal fluid or vital juice, drops down from a cavity in the skull above the throat to be consumed by the raging fire of *rajas*, situated close to the navel. When the loss of this and other vital fluids is prevented by the mastery of austerities, a dormant force, symbolized as a coiled serpent called *kundalini* and also *sakti*, is persuaded to rise through a succession of *cakras* (wheels, lotuses) in the spine till it attains union with *siva*, the force responsible for the production of the *bindu-rasa* within the skull. The ordinary nine orifices of the body have by now been sealed ; the final stage in the achievement of immortality is the opening, by the united *siva* and *sakti*, of the orifice at the top of the skull, the *brahmarandhra* or fontanelle, the hidden 'tenth door'.¹⁹⁶ This is the *magana dvāra*, 'the gateway of joy' of the verses quoted by 'Abd al-Quddus ; the great latent forces of the body have been united and the deep darkness of unknowing is illumined by flashes of lightning, the prelude of the liberation to be achieved through this final door. In common with other Khurasani and Indian Sufis, 'Abd al-Quddus was an advocate of the physical deprivation of sleep as an aid to ecstasy ; but here the allusion is also to another more mystical awakening to which the *talib* must attain--'in the place of sleep which is in the head'.

The Hindi lines are identifiable in surviving *Natha-panthi* tradition, being one of two *caupais* or quatrains common to the *Rushd-nama* and the *Gorakha-bani*, the set of Hindi verses most widely accepted among *Natha-panthi* Jogis.¹⁹⁷ The flashes of lightning suggest the presence of the thunder which in this literature describes the *anahada sabda*, the 'unstruck sound' ; and in the *caupai* which follows this in the *Gorakha-bani* "the *anahada sabda* thunders in heaven" (i.e. in the skull).¹⁹⁸

The second point at which Yogic ideas intrude into the Persian prose of the *Rushd-nama* is in the section (xxii) concerned with the control of the breath (*pas-ianfas*). When the *talib* has reached the stage of sincerity and faith,¹⁹⁹ and when he acts inwardly and outwardly on the staight path (*sirat-*

196. See Briggs, op. cit., Ch. XV, "The more important physiological concepts" : pp. 305-21 and for the *Brahmarandhra* especially pp. 316-7.

197. See notes 194 and 275.

198. *Gorakha-bani*, loc. cit., No. 177.

199. *sidq u yaqin*.

i mustaqim), not inventing of himself any innovation (*bid'at*) and not be having otherwise than as God and His Prophet have commanded, and when he reaches, in the degree (*martaba*) of conservation of the breaths (*pas-i anfas*) a state (*maqam*) where all three breaths which are in the body are turned back into a single breath, he attains the fountain life and drinks out of it. Then he will reach the station of everlasting life. His lot will be the station of Idris and he will enjoy the company of Khizr.²⁰⁰

This is a very curious train of thought for a Muslim who has been counselling against *bid'at* (innovation, heresy) only a sentence before. What the Jogi strove for, by a reversal of the physiological processes of decay, was the physical immortality of his body. This was the concomitant of his ecstasy and achievement, of his arrival at the 'tenth door'. Now Idris and Khizr among Muslim Prophets did not suffer death. But at this point in his meditation 'Abd al-Quddus checks himself and adds, "Such (everlasting) life is in proximity to God, and is in the category of life in the next world, not mere life in this world,—lest you fall into the error of the *malahida* (heretics)."²⁰¹

To the same section of the *Rushd-nama* (xxii) there is an important gloss by Rukn al-din, which evidently records 'Abd al-Quddus' oral teaching regarding the three breaths here described:—"It is recorded from the author (God's mercy be upon him !) that one breath comes out upwards and another breath goes downwards, and a third breath comes out from the whole of the body along the roots of the hairs of the body. These three breaths should be turned back into a single breath, just as the Guide of the times ('Abd al-Quddus) states."²⁰²

Of the three breaths described by 'Abd al-Quddus, the breath going upwards is clearly—in the Yogic physiology of the *Gorakṣa sataka* and similar *Natha-panthi* treatises—the *prana*, while the breath going downwards is the *apana*. An element of confusion seems to exist, not only in 'Abd al-Quddus' exposition, between the *apana* as the wind expelled through the lower orifices of the body and the downward intake of breath, which should be entirely an act of the *prana*. "In Yogic practice," Briggs writes, "these two, *prana* and *apana*, are to be joined. The knowledge of how this is to be done is of great importance to Jogis and belongs to the highest knowledge,

200. The extensive post-Qur'anic cycles of stories around these two figures in each case emphasize their immortality on earth : see E 11, s.v. *Idris*, *al-Khadir*,

201. The term *mulhid* (pl. *malahida*) is very loosely applied in the usage of the Delhi Sultanate to any variety of obnoxious heretic or unbeliever.

202. *Rushd-nama*, p. 15, marginal note 3.

delivering from old age and death.”²⁰³ ‘Abd al-Quddus’ third wind, which is already in operation in the human frame before the joining, rather than engendered by the other two, is a departure from standard Yogic expositions, but seems to be found in the traditional Sikh exegesis which Macauliffe drew upon in the translation cited below. It should probably be identified with the first and most important of the additional eight winds found in the common *Natha-panthi* texts :—“The *samana* (*samavayu*), whose chief seat is in the navel, is the function of digestion. This air, or intestinal fire resides also in all the limbs and makes the body dry.”²⁰⁴

In section (xxv) of the *Rushd-nama*, ‘Abd al-Quddus returns to the three breaths. Here they are considered as *maqams* (places, ‘stations’). “O Brother, all three *maqams* are within you.” He quotes the words of the Qura’n “And do you not regard within yourselves” ?²⁰⁵ A Hindi verse follows :—

thirai tikuti. sandhu

*mula dvara pavana bandhu*²⁰⁶

Firmly unite. in (?) the *trikuti* ;

Close the wind in the *muiadvava*.

Trikuti has the etymological sense of ‘three corners’, ‘three directions’. In Yogic terminology it is often applied to the point of junction of the cords *ida* and *pingea*, from which the *kundalini* may pass up the third central cord *susumna*. *Prans* and *apana*, the vital winds, are considered as travelling up and down the first two of these cords. There is however considerable terminological confusion. Macauliffe, probably relying upon a Sikh verbal tradition of exegesis, when the phrase *trikuti sandhi* occurs in a verse of Kabir in the *Adi granth*, renders it as “at the union of the three breaths”,²⁰⁷ this clearly corresponds with ‘Abd al-Quddus’ own exposition. The *trikuti* is sometimes conceived of as the penultimate ‘*cakra*’ situated above the eye brows :²⁰⁸ but it is also, and particularly in relation to the movement of the vital winds, thought to be located near the solar plexus, in the navel where

203. Briggs, op. cit., pp. 306-7.

204. Briggs, loc. cit.

205. *Rushd-nama*, p. 16.

206. The correct reading of the missing word is not clear, : for the collation of the manuscripts by Mr. Simon Weightman and myself, see note 255.

207. *Adi Grantha, Kabir*, Rag Bilawal, No. 11 : R.K. Varma, *Santa Kabira*, Ilahabad 1967, p. 162 : Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, VI, p. 232.

208. e.g. Varma, op. cit. p. 483, cf. E. Wood, *Yoga*, Penguin series, p. 164.

the winds are knotted together.²⁰⁹ As such it is the *madhya sunya*, the 'middle void, *sunya*, 'the Void being used to express final liberation.²¹⁰ In the form *sunī madhe* this expression occurs in verses quoted shortly afterwards by 'Abd al-Quddus;²¹¹ but in view of his earlier statement regarding 'the place of sleep in the head' it is not unlikely that he, like most Jogis, was in some confusion as to where the junction of the *trikuti* was. However he quoted a Hindi verse and, later, a *hadith*, emphasizing the importance of this mystic point within the human frame :—

heren bhitara hai hiya tina mahan kanta basai
*tahan basera jo karai so bhi piya milai*²¹²

Within the flesh there is a heart, where my lord takes his residence.

He who makes his lodging there meets with his lord. *Hadith* : "Lo, in the body of Adam there is a lump of flesh, and in that lump of flesh a secret, and in that secret am I."²¹³ The verse concerning the *trikuti*, situated between these two quotations, has two important marginal glosses by Rukn al-din, the first of which discusses its general import :—"This is an account of the occupation of the *talib* of God. Being employed in this activity, he achieves perfection. This is the activity of breath-control (*damsazi*).²¹⁴ In the language of the Jogis they call it *bhuvangam*, which means 'the snake', as it is breath-control for the snake (?).²¹⁵ The *talib* should practise such breath-control, the technique of which is conveyed by his *murshid* (Pir)."²¹⁶

The second and longer gloss concerns the meaning which 'Abd al-Quddus attached to *muladvāra*. It suggests the extent to which the Yogic exegesis of 'Abd al-Quddus had departed from more commonly held *Nathapanthi* doctrines. "*Muladvāra*," Rukn al-din writes, "refers to the three

209. cf. C. Vaudeville, ed., *Kabir Granthavali* (Doha) Pindichery 1957, n. 255. p. 101, n, 21 : p. 116, n. 255.

210. Vaudeville, loc. cit. and p. xx. The literature on Yogic subjects is very extensive and one can only begin to touch its outer fringes in this study of 'Abd al-Quddus.

211. *Rushd-nama*, p.

212. *Rushd-Nama*, p. 16.

213. *Rushd-nama*, p. 17.

214. This usage of *damsazi* is not found in Persian lexicons, but occurs also in the passage of *Nizam al-Qulub*, cited below, note 226.

215. The meaning is obscure to me and the text possibly corrupt. The Aligarh Ms. which also has Rukn al-din's glosses, does not vary here from the lithograph.

216. *Rushd-nama*, p. 16, marginal note 3.

breaths. The first breath is upwards and the second downwards and the third in the whole body. The joining together of these breaths is a firm work: all three breaths should be closed in the *muladvāra*. The Guide of the time ('Abd al-Quddus) says: --"Let him conserve his breath as far as he can : and for meditation (*fikr*) in his heart let him visualize his own interior state."²¹⁷ The Jogis say something different. According to them the *muladvāra* is, the podex : but it has been ascertained from the author of this *Rushd-nama* that *muladvāra* means the crown of the head, which is the place of the brain and of the gathering of the seminal fluid. When a child is bound up there, may see it beneath the skin on the crown of the head : this is the *muladvāra*. When the breath is bound up there, and when from the heat of the breath the seminal fluid becomes like clear water, suffuses through the whole body. The traveller (*salik*, synonym of *talib*) feels it like a cloud which is raining. This is the time when the upside-down breath comes inside his body. As a wise man ('*alime*) says in Hindavi, *ultai sakti carhai prabandha* (the *sakti* is turned upside down and the process ascends) : that is to say the reversed²¹⁸ breath goes back the opposite way and suffuses the interior. Then the body of the traveller (*salik*) becomes subtle (*latif*) : the state (*maqam*) of levitation (*tayr*) is engendered. Illuminations of Divine mysteries and the mysteries of the unseen world are revealed. Annihilation (in God) and the obliteration of all else is brought to pass. For this exercise two things are necessary : emptiness of the stomach from food and drink, and perpetual seclusion.²¹⁹

Assuming that Rukn al-din has correctly reported his father, 'Abd al-Quddus has here departed far from commonly accepted Natha-panthi exegesis. *Muladvāra* would appear to be an unlearned variant of *muladhara*, the 'fundamental base'. The *sphincter ani* in the region where, in *Natha-panthi* tradition, the *muladhara* is situated, is an orifice, a *dvara* or 'door' of the human body.²²⁰ *Muladvāra payana bandhu* in the verse quoted would in this case refer to the closing and containment there of the *apana*, the downward wind, in accordance with the general reversal of physiological processes as a prelude to the attainment of mystic powers. But *mula*, 'root', 'ground', 'essence', is also used, in the personalised mysticism of some of

217. The 'Aligarh Ms. reads *griṣṭan* for the lithograph's *guṣṭan*. I have amended *khayal*, found in both, to *hal*.

218. Aligarh Ms, *ma'kusa* : lithograph, *makuta* (sic.).

219. *Rushd-nama*, p. 16, marginal note 4.

220. Briggs, op. cit., pp. 311-3.

the Hindi verses of the *Rushd-nama*, as a term for God immanent in His creation :—

jala tain upana bulbula jalahin mahin bilai
*taisa yaha sainsara sabha mulahi jai samai*²²¹

The bubble was formed from water : in water it disappears :
 In the same way the whole Universe is contained in the *Mula*.

If *mula* is understood in this sense, the *muladvara* is no longer the ordinary *muladhara* of *Natha-panthi* teaching, because it has been reidentified with the *brahmarandhra*. It is the 'gate of the Essence', the door to liberation and, in this personalised mysticism, to union with God. In the interpretation of 'Abd al-Quddus the binding or closing of the wind there refers not to the beginning of the psycho-physical process of Hatha Yoga, but to the immediate prelude to its successful conclusion.

In 'Abd al-Quddus doctrinal expositions in Persian Yogic concepts are described in a shadowy and allusive manner and their presence has been made more explicit by the glosses of Rukn al-din. This suggests that the extent of Yogic influence on his religious thought may have been wider than has been allowed to appear in his own exegesis. In particular his emphasis upon two favourite aspects of the mystical life, the utility of *salat-i ma'kusa* and the importance and nature of *sultan-i dhikr*, may reflect the concealed influence or *Natha-panthi* Yogic beliefs. As regards the former, hanging upside down is the most conspicuous ascetic practice of a group of 'sadhus' (in the broad sense of the term) called *urdamukhi*²²². The terms *ardha-urdha*, 'downwards—upwards' and *ultra*, 'upside-down' are very frequently found in Hindi Yogic texts and refer, at one level of exposition to the reversal of the physical processes:²²³ being hung upside-down is an obvious contribution to such a reversal. The author of the *Dabistan* refers to this practice among a group of *sannyasis* as *namaz-i ma'kus*.²²⁴ With regard to *sultan-i dhikr*, the emphasis upon its physical symptoms may reflect *Natha-panthi* influence. In spite of the analogy drawn between *sultan-i dhikr* and *wahy* (Prophetic inspiration),²²⁵ it is likely that 'Abd al-Quddus was influenced by the Yogic idea of the *anahada sabda*, the 'unstruck sound'. Though the term is not mentioned in the *Lata'if*

221. *Rushd-nama*, p. 9.

222. J. C. Oman, *The mystics, ascetics and saints of India*,. 45

223. C. Vaudeville, p. 101, n. 21.

224. *Dabistan al-madhabib*, Bombay, Lachman Press 1262/1846, p. 170.

225. See above (*typescript*, p. 17.)

or the *Rushd-nama*, the *Niz m al-qulub*, a late seventeenth century Chishti Sabiri treatise on techniques of *dhikr*, which includes sentences deriving from this section of the *Rushd-nama* and the accompanying gloss and probably conserves oral teachings handed down in the *silsila*, identifies the *sawt-i sarmadi* (sound of eternity) produced by breath-control (*pas-i anfas, habs-i dam*) with the *anahada* of the Jogis.²²⁶ The identification of *sultan-i dhikr* with the *anahada* is made by an important *khalifa* of the *silsila* descending from 'Abd al-Quddus, Hajji Imdad Allah, in the early nineteenth century; his description of the sensation also echoes the passage in the *Lata'if*.²²⁷

The crude physical concepts of the Jogis are allegorized and refined in 'Abd al-Quddus' references to them. This appears to be in accord with his more general tendency to elevate and regularize the Sufi tradition which he inherited—his more cultivated behaviour as a Pir compared to his wild exemplar Ahmad 'Abd al-Haqq and his inclination towards a 'learned' Sufi life supported by professions of orthodoxy and of dislike of unbelievers. His treatment of Yogic ideas and techniques of ecstasy (probably passed on to him in the Rudawali *khanqah*) may be seen as an attempt to regularize an unorthodox, largely non-Muslim tradition within the confines of a learned (though profoundly Indianised) Muslim orthodoxy, the intellectual world of the religious classes patronised by the rulers and high officers of late fifteenth and early sixteenth century Hindostan.

(vii) 'Abd al-Quddus and the Indo-Persian poetic tradition :

'Abd al-Quddus' poetic tastes were formed in his youth, in a rural and Sufi environment and at a time when his formal education in Arabic and Persian polite sciences had not progressed very far. His taste in Persian verse evidently did not incline towards the refined and ornate classical courtly tradition mainly represented by the *qasida* and the literary rather than didactic *mathnavi*. The Persian verses which he quotes in the *Rushd-nama* and in his letters are usually *bayts* of *ghazals* or of *mathnavis* of which the Sufi interpretation is obvious. The *Rushd-nama* often, though not always mentions by name the authors of the Persian verses quoted in it : and on some other occasion the *maqta* of a *ghazal* quoted in it gives the *takhallus* or pen-name of the poet. The most frequently quoted verses are those of Mas'ud Beg, a poet of strongly Sufi inclinations of the later fourteenth centuries Dehli Sultanate, who enjoyed considerable esteem in Northern India until the middle of the

226. Nizam al-din Awarangabadi, *Nizam al-qulub*, Delhi, Mujtaba'i Press 1309, pp. 6-8 ; see also Shah Kalim Allah Jahanabadi, *Kashkul-i Kalimi*, Dehli, Mujtaba'i Press June 1891, pp. 39.

227. Hajji Imdad Allah, *Ziya' al-qulub*, pp. 20-1.

sixteenth century, but seems to have passed out of fashion and almost into oblivion at that time.²²⁸ When 'Abd-al-Quddus first came to the *Khanqah* at Rudawli, Shaykh Piyare was engaged in reciting aloud from the *divan* of Mas'ud Beg.²²⁹ 'Abd al-Quddus was evidently influenced in his poetic tastes by his association with Shaykh Piyare.²³⁰ This, besides the presence of a copy of the *divan* in the Rudawli *khanqah* and the persistent preoccupation of Mas'ud Beg with *wahdat al-wujud* may account for the frequency with which his *ghazals* are quoted in the *Rushd-nama*, where he is named no less than twelve times.²³¹ The next most frequently cited poet is Farid al-din 'Attar who appears by name ten times; in every case the quotations are from his *mathnavis*, not *ghazals*.²³² 'Attar had also been a favourite poet among earlier Shaykhs of the Chishti *silsila* in India. The only other non-Indian Persian poets quoted in the *Rushd-nama* appear to be Sa 'di and Rumi (three times each).²³³ The remaining verses quoted are probably all of Indo-Persian poets Muhammad Qalandar (a *ghazal*) of 5 *bayts*,²³⁴ Nakhshabi (once, a *du-bayti*),²³⁵ Bu 'Ali Qalandar (once)²³⁶ and Sharaf-i Quattal (once)²³⁷. A *bayt* of a *ghazal* by 'Abd al-Quddus himself, with the *takhallus* Ahmadi (or Ahmada) is also reproduced.²³⁸

In estimating 'Abd al-Quddus' talents as a Persian poet we are mainly dependent upon the small collection of his poems appended to the *Lata'if*.²³⁹ This contains five *ghazals* with the *takhallus* Ahmadi, a *rubai* and some *qit'as* or fragments. The opening piece is a long *ghazal* of 20 *bayts* in a jing-

228. For a notice of Mas'ud Beg with a few biographical details, see *Akhbar al-akhyr*, p. 164 : for a *ghazal* of Mas'ud Beg inscribed in the decoration of a mosque at Dehli dated 900/1494 see S. Digby, "The tomb of Bahlol Lodi?" in J.R.A.S., 1970, Pt. 2 (forthcoming) : for a *jawab* to this *ghazal* written in Sikandar Lodi's time, see Badayuni, I, p. 323.

229. *Lata'if*, p.9.

230. See below (typescript pp. 54, 62) for Hindi *dohas* probably by Shaykh Piyare.

231. *Rushd-nama*, pp. 11, 19 (twice), 21, 22, 25, 26 (twice), 27, 29 (twice), 32.

232. *Rushd-nama*, pp. 2, 3-4, 4, 5, 7-8, 8, 9, 18, 24, 28-9.

233. *Rushd-nama*, pp. 15, 26, 32—Sa'di, ; pp. 11, 17, 33—Rumi, the quotation on p. 17 being from the *Divan-i Shams-i Tabriz*.

234. *Rushd-nama*, p. 2.

235. *Rushd-nama*, p. 14.

236. *Rushd-nama*, p. 18.

237. *Rushd-nama*, p. 26.

238. *Rushd-nama*, p. 15.

239. *Lata'if*, pp. 96-9.

ling rime and metre recalling the weaker portions of Rumi's *Divan-i Shams-i Tabriz*:—

*ay taliban badanid. ay taliban badanid
man ishq-i haqq guzidam, ay taliban badanid.*

O seeker know, O seekers know,

O seekers know I have chosen the love of God !

A *qit'a* of six *bayts* is a description of the qualities of a true *darvesh* :—

*darvesh nest anki bakhushpad khvurad chu khar
darvesh sirr-i haqq buvad az ruh paktar.*

The *darvesh* is not a man who sleeps and eats like an ass :

the *darvesh* should be a divine mystery more pure than the spirit,

The piece was possibly inspired by a *ghazal* on the same theme in a similar metre by Sa'di, to which it is greatly inferior.²⁴⁰ In both these quotations *haqq* also alludes to the poet's *pir*, Ahmad 'Abd al-Haqq. In conclusion a *qit'a* of three *bayts* may be quoted, which probably fairly represents 'Abd al-Quddus' limited achievements as a Persian poet.

*darshor-i 'ishq-i jahan ghamha-i har du 'alam
durde-st dard-i ma-ra dar jam-i sirr-i 'alam
dar shawq-i dost ya rabb jan bar kanam ba har dam
ta jan-i jan na yabam ba jan u dil banalam
az jan u dil gudhashtam bar sar-i jan baraftam
didim sirr-i haqqahaqq ast jumla 'alam*

In the tumult of love of the beloved the griefs of this world and the next

are the less for our pain in the cup of the world's secret.

In desire for the friend, O Lord, I uproot my life every moment;
until I find the spirit of life I will cry out with all my life and heart.

I abandoned my life and heart; I went to the limit of life;

I saw that the whole world is wholly the mystery of God.

Once more in *haqqahaqq* there is an oblique reference to his *pir*.
The *qafiyya* or rime-scheme of the *qit'a* is imperfect, '*alam* being used

240. Sa'di, *Badayi'*, *ghazal* on the theme of the life of the *darvesh*, beginning :

*an-ra ki jaye nest hama shahr jayi u-st
darvesh har kuja ki shab ayad sarayi u-st*

in the same sense three times. The impression left is of a poet of limited technical proficiency writing in a hackneyed Sufi style. However, aided by the Shaykh's powerful charisma, when 'Abd al-Quddus' verses were sung with all the resources of a *qavval* of a Chishti *khanqah*, they may have had a considerable emotive effect upon listeners.

Two *ghazals* reproduced by I. Quddusi from modern oral tradition are of a greater verbal felicity than the Persian verses preserved in the *Lata'if*.²⁴¹ In the first of these *takhallus* is not Ahmadi, but Quddusi and in the second 'banda-i Quddus Gangohi': this is in itself sufficient to cast doubt upon their authenticity. The first of these, which is a fine *ghazal* beginning :—

astin bar ru kashida hamchu makkar amade

You came like a deceiver, hiding your face with your sleeve, —is also found, less the second *bayt* and with a different *maqta'* and *takhallus* in the *Rushd-nama*.²⁴² The *takhallus* there is Muhammad and 'Abd al-Quddus himself attributes the poem to Muhammad Qalandar.²⁴³ The *maqta'* substituted in the oral version is certainly the best known of all verses attributed to 'Abd al-Quddus and in the early years of this century a Sufi figure of repute died of ecstasy when listening to it in a *mahfil* in Ajmer.²⁴⁴

*guft quddusi faqire dar fana' u dar baqa
khvud-ba-khvud azad bude khvud giriftar amade*

Quddusi, a *faqir* in the transient world and in the world eternal, said:—

"You were free by yourself alone, by yourself you became captive !" The reference is to the embodiment of the unconditioned Creator in creation. It is sad that this fine couplet must almost certainly be rejected as a composition of 'Abd al-Quddus himself, rather than of any anonymous devotee of the Shaykh.

One further aspect of 'Abd al-Quddus' activities as a Persian poet is noteworthy. In his youth he embarked upon a Persian translation of the *Candayan* of Mawlana Da'ud, a late fourteenth century

241. I. Quddusi, pp. 404-5.

242. *Rushd-nama*, p. 2.

243. loc. cit.

244. Mawlana Muhammad Husayan Ilahabadi : the event is commemorated in an Urdu *qit'a* of Akbar Ilahabadi.

Avadhi romance.²⁴⁵ A considerable portion of the translation had been made, when the manuscript was destroyed in the war between Bahlol Lodi and Husayn Shah Sharqi.²⁴⁶ The *Lata'if* quotes seven *bayts* which had survived this destruction, from which it is clear that 'Abd al-Quddus was adapting the form of the poem, from stanzas of 5 *caupais* followed by a *doha* in the Hindi original into the standard form of the Persian *mathnavi*. Four of the *bayts* preserved are of a section on the *m'iraj* (ascent of the Prophet) which had been lacking in the original poem and was therefore inserted by 'Abd al-Quddus; the other three *bayt* are a close translation of three *caupais* of the original Hindi, which the *Lata'if* reproduces:—

unca birikha phara iaga akasas
hatha carhai kai nahin asa
kahu jogita ko banhan pasarai
taravara dali chuai kno parai
rati divas bahuta rakhawara
*nayana dekhai jai so mara*²⁴⁷

(A lofty tree, whose fruit is up in the sky;
 there is no hope of reaching it with the hand.
 Say, who has the power to stretch up his arm
 to pass on to touch the branches of the tree?
 Day and night there are many guards
 and he who with his eyes looks up will be killed).

This is rendered into Persian by 'Abd al-Quddus:—

shajar-i buiand ast thamar dar sama
qat'-i ummid ast bar an dast-i ma
zahra ki-ra dast-farazi kunad
shakh-i falak dast-i ki bazi kunad
roz u shab gashta nigahban-i base
kushta shavad chun ki ba-binad kase

245. *Lata'if*, pp. 99-100. For editions of the *Candayan*, see note 81, The *Candayan* describes the adventures of Canda, a beautiful lady who elopes with the Ahirchampion Lor or Lorik. It was composed by Mawlana Da'ud of Dalamaui in the U.P. in 781/1379-80 and was dedicated to the younger Khan-i-Jahan, minister of Feroz Shah Tughluq. It is the earliest of the series of verse romances by Muslim poets in Avadhi or Eastern Hindi which had survived. It evidently enjoyed considerable popularity in Muslim educated circles (see Badayuni, I. p. 250).

246. See p. 6 of the typescript and note 39. The translation of the *Candayan*, like the *Rushd-nama*, was a work of the youth of 'Abd al-Quddus.

247. *Lata'if*, p. 100, *Candayana*, ed. P. L. Gupta, p. 113 : *Candayana*, ed. M.P. Gupta, pp. 54-5. I have given a transcription agreeing with the form of the verses

The adaptation or translation of romantic love stories from poetic versions in North Indian vernacular languages into Persian *mathnavis* became popular in the Mughal period, from which scores if not hundreds of such *mathnavis* survive: but if such translations were made in the Sultanate period they appear to have perished²⁴⁸ and 'Abd al-Quddus must be regarded as an innovator of the tradition.

(viii) 'Abd al-Quddus and hindi poetic tradition :

'Abd al-Quddus' taste in Hindi is of greater significance than his taste in Persian verse from the point of view of literary history. In the mystical *ghazal* and didactic *mathnavi* he drew upon an old and comparatively well documented tradition: but in Hindi poetry the fifteenth century is a rather obscure period which preceded the great flowering of devotional verse under the influence of the revival of the Kṛṣṇa cult and other forms of *saguna bhakti* in Northern India in the sixteenth century. The confusion which prevails in fifteenth century Hindi literary history may be illustrated by reference to our knowledge of its greatest poet, the Muslim weaver Kabir. Kabir is said by his hagiographers to have been born in 1398. A.D. and to have died in 1518 A.D.²⁴⁹ No source earlier than the last years of the sixteenth century appears to attest his historical existence.²⁵⁰ Apart from the *Adi Granth*, compiled in 1603-4, the manuscript traditions which preserve his verses are preserved in copies dating from the late seventeenth to the nineteenth century. Efforts have now been made to isolate a *corpus* of original verses of a historical Kabir from the accretions and textual corruptions of the differing manuscript traditions.²⁵¹ If this is our present state of knowledge with regard to Kabir, we are even worse off with regard to the other *bhagats* of the *nṛguna* type who are said

in the *Lata'if*, which must represent the manuscript reading from which 'Abd al-Quddus was translating.

248. Amir Khusrav's *Daval Rani Khizr Khan*, based on some kind of narrative written partly (?) in Hindi according to the poet, is not a true example of the genre: *Daval Rani Khizr Khan*, ed. R.A. Ansari, Aligarh 1917, p. 41, line 15.

249. Rev. F.E. Keay, *Kabir and his followers*, Calcutta 1931, pp. 27-8.

250. *Akhbar al-akhyar*, p. 291.

251. Dr. Parasnath Tiwari's edition of Kabir's *Granthavali* (University of Allahabad, 1961) applies classical methods of textual criticism to the very diverse traditions in which the verses of Kabir are conserved. My friend Mr. S.C.R. Weightman, in his forthcoming paper on *The thought and poetry of Kabir* remarks:—"We can say no more than that this edition/represents a nucleus text of the maximum probability."

to have been Kabir's contemporaries. In these circumstances the *Rushd-nama* of 'Abd al-Quddus, whose composition can be dated to within a few years of 1480 A.D., provides valuable evidence of types of Hindi verse current at that time as well as of the climate of popular devotion and sensibility.

Metrically the verses reproduced by 'Abd al-Quddus (with the exception of a single macaronic couplet) are divided by him into *dohra* (*doha*), *caupad* and *sarod*: by the last term he means a song generally of more than four lines of a loose metrical structure, to be sung in a particular *parda* (*raga*). Many verses are reproduced without indication of authorship. The occurrence of the word *piyara*, *piyare* ("dear") in a number of *dohras* suggests that these are in fact the composition of Shaykh Piyare, whose influence upon 'Abd al-Quddus and upon his tastes has already been noted.²⁵² One poem of three *dohras* seems to contain the pen-name *Ladhan*; and the identification of this poet as Shaykh Muhammad, grandson of Ahmad 'Abd al-Haqq, suggested by the marginal gloss, admirably fits the purport of the verses.²⁵³ A considerable number of the *caupads* and *sarods* bear the pen-name *Alakhdas* ("servant of the Invisible"), used by 'Abd al-Quddus himself.²⁵⁴ In their content the Hindi verses of the *Rushd-nama* belong to several recognizable genres or to a mixture of one or more of these genres.

The simple poem expressing human love is clearly one of the bases of the Hindi poetic tradition: but it is stylised in a form somewhat alien to both European and Islamic traditions of love-poetry. Even the anonymous early poets of vernacular folk tradition must mostly have been men, but the Hindi love poem expresses the lawful love and passion of the married woman. She longs for her lord in his absence and in his presence she rejoices and disports herself: she confides her feelings to her *sakhi*, a female companion of gentility and intelligence, not unlike the lady's companion of Victorian England, except that both she and her employer or hostess are young and desirable.

252. See above (typescript, pp. 4 and 48) : Shayrani (*Maqalat*, Lahore 1966, I, p. 149) identified the pen-name *Piyara* in these *dohas* with the Shaykh Piyare at Rudawli, but he also attributed the *dohas* with the name *Ladhan* to the same author.

253. *Rushd-nama*, p. 20, marginal note 8 : this reads *Lad* (*for Ladhan*) in both the lithograph and the related Aligarh (Subhan) Ms.

254. *Rushd-nama*, p. 3 (also Aligarh Ms.) on the first occasion where the pen-name *Alakh Das* occurs has the interlinear gloss *kinaya az 'Abd al-Quddus*. The number of times that this pen-name occurs and its fanciful resemblance to the second portion of the Shaykh's name can leave very little doubt that the verses so signed are of 'Abd al-Quddus himself.

Few verse in the *Rushd-nama* belong to this genre in its simple and unadulterated form, in which there is no indication of divine love ('*ishq-i haqiqi* in Persian Sufi terminology) rather than human love (or '*ishq-i majazi*):—

ranga bhavana men piya paya rahansi karun badhaya
*gaya burhapa bha tarunapa je sain ghar aya*²⁵⁵

In the pavilion of pleasure I have found my lord : in private
I make merry.

Old age has gone, youth is here since my lord came home.

An interesting variant pattern, rare in later Hindi literature, occurs in a *dohra* in which a man speaks of his passion for a woman :—

je so nari sulakhati mujhahi dikhlavai mukha
*kyon nahin nacun mora jyon bisaren sabha dukha*²⁵⁶

If that beautiful lady show her face to me,
Why should I not dance like the peacock, all grief forgetting ?

However almost all the love poems quoted by 'Abd al-Quddus show in their text as well as in the use to which he puts them signs of the equation of human and divine love :—

jidhara dekhun he sakkhi tidhara aur na koi
*dekha bujha bicari main sabahi apaan soi*²⁵⁷

Wherever I look, O friend, there is none other :
after reflecting I realized that everything was Himself.

255. *Rushd-nama*, p. 17. The transcriptions of these verses from the *Rushd-nama* (cited with page references to the lithographed edition) are based on the collation on three manuscripts with it, by Mr. S.C.R. Weightman, Lecturer in Hindi at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London and myself and they are a product of our joint labours. The text of these Hindi verses in Arabic script is often in a very corrupt state in the manuscripts (and lithograph) and the readings of the selection of verses presented here, cannot be considered definitive, particularly as we were not able to consult all the known manuscripts. In a few instances I have differed from the readings or interpretations which Mr. Weightman prefers and take full responsibility for errors ; and I certainly could not have undertaken the task of reconstructing the text of the verses without his close collaboration. Mr. Weightman is now engaged in producing a full critical edition of all the Hindi verses of the *Rushd-nama*, with linguistic analysis.

256. *Rushd-nama*, p. 12.

257. *Rushd-nama*, p. 3.

The love poetry of the *Rushd-nama* differs considerably in content from the Maithili *padas* of Vidyapati which are our principal evidence of the state of development of love lyrics in the North Indian vernaculars in the first half of the fifteenth century.²⁵⁸ Although Vidyapati's charming poems have later been assumed to be songs of mystical and divine love, in fact hymns of the Krsna-Lila cult, their words give no indication that they are other than poems of mortal love. The Hindi love lyrics and *dohras* of the *Rushd-nama* can be seen as a development rather similar to that which took place in the Avadhi romantic narrative poem in the hands of Jayasi,²⁵⁹ in which the joys of mortal love are vividly described, but a preoccupation with the parallel of divine love is seldom absent. By contrast a rather different flavour is found in many *dohas* of Kabir, probably current at the same time as those of the *Rushd-nama*; in these the setting of human love is often vestigial, surviving only as a casual appeal to the *sakhi* or friend.²⁶⁰ Looking towards the future, in the love poems of the *Rushd-nama*, there does not appear to be any close association with the Krsna-Lila, whose participants are never mentioned by name, or with any other aspects of the *saguna* or humanized *bhakti* cults which became increasingly popular in Northern India in the sixteenth century. However such an association is foreshadowed by two songs for the *holi* festival by Alakhadas, that is to say 'Abd al-Quddus' himself, of which one is reproduced here :

jana ajana saba khelai loi
bina piya khela na khela hoi
jana ajana jaga kheli re
ho ho holi re
saba khelanha sakhi mana mahan jana
saraba nirantara piya parvana
jana ajana jaga khelai phaga
kanta bala leun hirdai laga
alakhadasa akhai sunu nanhan
*hama tuma khelahin de kara banhan*²⁶¹

258. Vidyapati, *Gita-sangraha*, ed. with English introduction and translation by S. Jha, Banaras 1954.

259. Malik Muhammad Jayasi, *Padamavati*, ed. V. S. Agravala, Chirgaav (Jhansi) V.S. 2012 : Eng. tr. by A. G. Shirref, Calcutta (Bibliotheca Indica), 1944.

260. It is perhaps characteristic of this tendency that in one of the *dohas* quoted below (typescript p. 57 and n. 262) *baun dhani gai hirai* in the *Rushd-nama* has been replaced by *rahya kabira hirai*.

261. *Rushd-nama*, p. 8 : described as a *sarod* in the *parda* (Rag) Maru.

Knowing and unknowing all the people play ;
 without my lover the game cannot be played ;
 knowing and unknowing the world plays ;
 O, O, Holi O !
 Know my friend, that all the plays are in the heart.
 My lover is the validator of all without end.
 Knowing and unknowing the world plays *phag*.
 I will take my love close to my heart.
 Listen, my Lord !—says Alakhdas—
 You and I shall play with our hands and arms joined.

A number of *horis* or holi-songs are also attributed to Kabir. A number of close parallels in *dohas* referring to love attributed to Kabir and those of the *Rushd-nama* can be found.

herata herata he sakhi haun dhani gai hirai
*parya bunda samanda mahan kaha kyon heri jai*²⁶²

I the lady, O friend through looking and looking (for my lord)
 have vanished :

the drop has fallen into the ocean ; tell me, how can it be espied ?

alakha niranjana mera sain so jo lakha na jai
*jina lakhya tina apa ganvaya kahun to ko patiyai*²⁶³

The Unseen Pure One is my Lord, He who cannot be seen :
 he who saw Him lost himself : if I were to tell of this who
 would believe it ?

Other *dohras* of the *Rushd-nama* are indistinguishable in type and sentiment from those of Kabir and employ the same homely and vivid similes, for instance (i) an incitement to concentration upon the spiritual path :—

nihacala rakhau apa syon dhari kai nihacala loi
*pithi sabahi pisai kai kanji kyonkara hoi*²⁶⁴

Keep yourself motionless, having kept your eye without moving :
 when you have ground up any amount of *pithi* (pulse steeped
 in water) how can it become *kanji* (rice-gruel) ?

262. *Rushd-nama*, p. 8 : cf. Kabir *Granthavali (doha)* 7-4 : p. 17 in C. Vaudeville's ed., Pondichery 1957.

263. *Rushd-nama*, p. 17.

264. *Rushd-nama*, p. 14.

(ii) a description of guidance along the spiritual path :—

*jinha gala phansi kanta ki te nij pavahin bata
phansa bihune bapure dubai cambala ghata*²⁶⁵

Those on whose necks is the halter of the Beloved, they find their proper path ;

the unlucky ones without (such) a halter drown at the ford of the Chambal.

(iii) A statement of the nature of Creation and the common birth of mankind :—

*camahin bandhi putali hari bandha guda
ikai nari jaga upanya ko bahaman ko suda*²⁶⁶

A doll was enclosed in skin, brain was encased in bone :
One woman gave birth to the world : Who is the Brahman ?
Who is the Shudra ?

In one case a *doha* common to Kabir and the collections of verse attributed to other *bhagats*, also found in the *Rushd-nama*, can be traced back to the *dohakosa* of *Saraha* ; and therefore appears to be an inheritance from earlier *sahajiya* Buddhist tradition²⁶⁷ :—

*ja ka guru jo dubyan cela kain tarahin
andhe andha theliya dou kui parahin*²⁶⁸

How can the chela, when his guru drowns, swim across ?

The blind man pushes the blind man and both fall into the well. Kabir's deity is *alakha rama*, Rama invisible or unincarnate. Occasionally he refers to traditional Hindu belief in the incarnation of Vishnu as Rama of Ayodhya, the hero of the *Ramayana* ; the golden age to which Kabir occasionally looked back was *raja piyare rama ka*, the reign of the beloved Ram.²⁶⁹ But it is clear that his concept of God was of Rama, unincarnate, a historical and *nrguna*, without attributes. Kabir's belief in this attributeless deity is superimposed upon Yogic cosmogonic

265. *Rushd-nama*, p. 23.

266. *Rushd-nama*, pp. 8-9.

267. D.V. Bharati, *Siddha-sahitya*, Allahabad 1955 : C. Vaudeville, p. 2 and n. 9 : the *doha* also appears in the works of Dadu.

268. *Rushd-nama*, p. 5.

269. Kabir, *Granthavali (doha)* 24, 26.

and physiological concepts which provided, through the practice of selected austerities a technique of ecstasy.

By contrast with the verses attributed to Kabir, those reproduced in the *Rushd-nama* mention neither *alakha rama*, Ram invisible nor the quasi-historical Ram of Ajodhya celebrated anew by Tulasi Dasa at the end of the sixteenth century. The theories advanced by Hazari Prasad Dvivedi regarding Kabir also find no confirmation in the *Rushd-nama*.²⁷⁰ Even if many weavers were Yogis, corrupted into married life and then superficially converted to Islam, the influence of Yogic doctrine is no less strong upon 'Abd al-Quddus than it was upon Kabir ; yet 'Abd al-Quddus was a man of ancient and learned Muslim descent. Indeed it can be argued that the yogic influences upon 'Abd al-Quddus are stronger than those upon Kabir. Kabir, in all the variant recensions of his verse, repudiated the cult of Gorakhnath as he did the other competing faiths of Northern India. The Gorakhpanti Jogis were rivals and enemies of the cult of *alakha* Rama which he himself was propagating. In the verses attributed to Kabir there is no direct dependence on hitherto published Gorakhpanti literary tradition.

'Abd al-Quddus however often refers to Gorakhnath in terms devoid of hostility. His Gorakhnath is a historical figure, equated in Rukn al-din's glosses with the *insan-i kamil*, the *pir* whose distinction from the Divine Nature is minimal.²⁷¹ Elsewhere it is clear that 'Abd al-Quddus regards Gorakhnath as a Hindi name for God himself, comparable to Kabir's *alakh* Ram.²⁷²

jagai gorakha savai papa
*alakha niranjana apai apa*²⁷³

Gorakh wakes : sin sleeps :
the Pure Unseen One, alone by Himself.

alakhadasa akhai sunu loi
dui dui mata kaho bhai koi
jala thala mahiyala saraba nirantara
*gorakhanatha akela- soi*²⁷⁴

270. H.P. Dvivedi, *kabir*, Bombay 1947, pp. 1-21 and passim.

271. *Rushd-nama*, p. 9 : Gorakh Nath interpreted in the interlinear gloss as *ustad-i kamil u wasil bi- haqq*.

272. *Rushd-nama*, p. , marginal gloss : *jagai gorakha* interpreted "the guardian of the world 'who doth not yawn nor sleep' is awake".

273. Omitted in the lithograph of the *Rushd-nama* and the Aligarh Ms : Tuebingen Ms. folio 19.

274. *Rushd-nama*, p. 7.

Alakh Das says, Listen O people !

Do not speak in terms of two and two, O brother, at all :
in water, on land or in the mountain, all without end—
it is Gorakh Nath alone.

Though many verses in the *Rushd-nama* are *caupads* and this appears to have been a favourite metre among Nathpanthi Yogis, there are few obvious points of correspondence with the *Gorakhabani*, the alleged Hindi poetical works of Gorakh. Manuscripts of the *Gorakhabani* older than the seventeenth century are not known, and a number of verses contained in the collection are not likely to be much older than this.²⁷⁵ Two *caupads* found in the *Rushd-nama* appear in nearly the same form in the *Gorakhabani* and one other shorter couplet has been expanded into a *caupad* in the *Gorakhabani*. The first of these *caupads* has already been quoted, in connexion with 'the place of sleep which is in the head'. The second emphasizes that all spiritual life is contained within the heart :—

yaha mana sakti yaha mana siva
yaha mana tina bhavana ka jiva
yaha mana lai jo unmani rahai
*tina bhavana ka baten kahai*²⁷⁶

This *man* (heart, mind, inclination) is Shakti : this *man* is *Shiva* :
this *man* is the spirit animating the three worlds :
this *man* is the passion which exists in a state of ecstasy :
what a tale the three worlds are telling !

The remaining couplet in the *Rushd-nama* found in an expanded form in the *Gorakhabani* refers to a dying before physical death, and appears to be an allusion to the suspension of ordinary bodily processes in *samadhi* and burial alive for subsequent resuscitation :—

marahu pandita maranu mitha
*ton marana sri gorakha ditha*²⁷⁷

Die, O learned One, for dying is sweet
when Shri Gorakh has shown the way to die.

275. P. D. Barthwal, ed., *Gorakha-bani*, Prayag, Hindi Sahitya Sammelan V. S. 2003/1946.

276. *Rushd-nama*, p. 18 : *Gorakha-bani*, p. 18, No. 50.

277. *Rushd-nama*, p. 9 ; *Gorakha-bani*, p. 10, No. 26.

In Nathapanthi literature one *caupad* found in the *Rushd-nama* is reproduced in a work other than the *Gorakhabani*. Although in the *Rushd-nama* it appears with the name of Gorakh himself, it is also found in a collection of *banis* or poetical works attributed to other Nath figures assigned to Charapat Nath.²⁷⁸ It is a satirical verse describing Nathpanthi Yogis who have not reached any state of spiritual enlightenment :—

*kanani mudra gale rudrakha
phiri phiri parhahin bihuni sakha
bolata gorakha suna ho loi
baratana hoi pai joga na hoi*²⁷⁹

In their ears the earrings and around their necks the *rudraksha* beads.

roaming around they recite meaningless verses ;

Gorakha says, Listen O people !

This is a livelihood but it is not Yoga.

In the *Rushd-nama* a number of gnostic couplets regarding the religious life may derive from the Nathpanthis or from some other tradition of the popular religious life of Northern India. One of these, like the *caupad* quoted above, satirises false men of religion :—

*roti sate gyan bikae
rata kahe dina bisari jae*²⁸⁰

They trade mystic knowledge for bread :

what they say at night is forgotten the next day.

Others of these couplets concern the role of the Guru :—

*bina kauri hata rahin
bina guru bata nahin*²⁸¹

Without the cowrie there is no market :

without the Guru there is no path (to salvation).

*guru hira guruchara kudara
khodai nikasai hira sara*²⁸²

278. P.D. Barthwal, ed. *Natha-siddhon ki banian*, Kashi, Nagari Pracharini Sabha V. V. 2012, p. 26.

279. *Rushd-nama*, p. 16.

280. *Rushd-nama*, p. 15.

281. *Rushd-nama*, p. 6.

282. *Rushd-nama*, p. 5.

The Guru is a diamond and his follower a spade :

if he digs there will come out a wealth of diamonds.

The Persian verse which precedes this in the *Rushd-nama* provides an almost exact translation :—

pir xamin-i gawhar ast u murid kulande
*gawhar ba dast nayad ta na bakande*²⁸³

The *pir* is a jewel-bearing ground and the *murid* a mattock : the jewel will not come to hand until you dig.

Verses bearing the name of Alrkh Das are invariably *canpads* and *sarods*, never *dobas*. They stem mainly from the *nathpauthi* tradition but are influenced by *bhakti*, embodying the idea of a personal God, identified as *piye*, the beloved and *parvana* (Skt. *pramana*) the validator, immanent in the universe. Certain catch-phrases, also found in the Nathpanthi collections of *canpads*, are very often repeated, e.g. *papa na puna* ("neither sin nor merit"), *saraba nirantara* ("all continuously"). The two characteristic sets of verses of Alakh Das quoted above may suffice.

The last important category of verses in the *Rushd-nama* are *dobas* which are likely to be the compositions of other inmates of the Rudawli *Khanqah*, whose poetic talents compare favourably with those displayed by 'Abd al-Quddus himself. As has been mentioned, Shaykh Muhammad bin Shaykh 'Arif bin Ahmad 'Abd al-Haqq has been identified as the Ladhan of three fine *dobas* which adapt this Hindi verse tradition to the expression of Muslim and Sufi sentiments²⁸⁴ :—

mahmada mahmada jaga kabai cinhai nahin koi
ahmada mima ganwaia kaha keyon dua boi
mahmada phula anada ka phala bhi apana soi
so keyon janai bapura jinba na caka boi
mahmada 'arifa ho rabai 'arifa ahmada soi
*akatha katha jaha ladhana ki birla bujhai koi*²⁸⁵

The world says Mahmad, Mahmad, but nobody understands.

Ahmad has lost its *mim*;²⁸⁶ tell me, how could there be a second?

Mahmad is the flower of the eternal ; he is himself also the fruit ;

283. Ibid.

284. See above, note 253.

285. *Rushd-nama*, p. 20.

286. *Ahmad* losing the *mim* becomes *Ahad*, One, i.e. God. The verses have several different meanings in them which will be examined when Mr. Weightman's edition is published. Muhammad is deliberately vocalised Mahmad, in accordance with the textual indications of the manuscripts and lithograph.

How can the poor wretch know this who has not tasted it ?

Mahmad is becoming 'Arif and 'Arif, he is Ahmad,²⁸⁷

This is the untellable tale of Ladhan ; there are few who understand.

The *dobas* in which the name of (Shaykh) Piyare appears are of a less obviously Muslim colouring. Their diction shows affinities on the one hand with the *canpads* of Alakh Das and on the other with the *dobas* of Kabir :—

*eka gusain sabhin mahan so jo lakha na jai
jo usa sisa na nyavai tasa mathe bhaka jai
bajha piyaro saian aur na dekhun cukkha
jidbara dekhaun he sakhi tidhara sain mukkha
keyon haun sisa na nyavaun aisa dekhun mai
bahara bhitara he sakhi apana eka khudai*²⁸⁸

There is one Lord in all, He who cannot be seen :

he who does not bend his head to Him, his forehead will be broken.

I do not see with my eye (?) aught other than my dear Lord :

wherever, O friend, I look, there is the face of the Lord.

Why should I not bend my head when thus I behold, O friend ?

O friend, within and without He is Himself, the one *Khuda*.

Finally, there is one couplet in the *Rusbd-nama* described as *rekhta*. This is not in archaic Urdu of mixed vocabulary, but is a macaronic verse of which the first line is Persian and the second Hindi :—

*sadq rahbar sabr tosha dost manzil dil rafiq
satta nagari dharma raja yoga marga nirmala*²⁸⁹

Sincerity is the guide ; patience the provision for the journey ;

the friend our destination ; the heart our companion :

truth is the city ; righteousness its King ; Yoga the pure road.

With this we may suitably come to the end of our own travels in the survey of 'Abd al-Quddus Gangohi's diverse activities as a Sufi Shaykh.

Wolfson College,
Oxford.

SIMON DIGBY

²⁸⁷. The allusion is *inter alia* to the pedigree of Shaykh Muhammad bin Shaykh 'Arif bin Shaykh Ahmad 'Abd al-Haqq.

²⁸⁸. *Rusbd-nama*, p. 30.

²⁸⁹. *Rusbd-nama*, pp. 14-15.

WINE-POTS AT THE MUGHAL COURT

(in the sixteenth century)

(A study based on the miniatures contained in the manuscripts of *Akbar-nama* (Victoria and Albert Museum; Chester Beatty collection); *Razmnama* (City Palace Museum, Jaipur; Baroda State Museum, Baroda); *Anwar-i Suhaili* (Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi); *Tarikh-i Alfi* (Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna); *Diwan-i Hafiz* (Rampur State Library, Rampur) and *Tuzuk-i Baburi* (British Museum; National Museum, Delhi).

In the absence of textual evidence about certain interesting aspects of material culture nothing can be of greater value for this purpose than contemporary paintings. More than words the visual experience acquired through this medium provides us in illustrated form with the knowledge of a variety of things which a chronicler would never even think of as worthy of report. Fortunately the Mughal period is the richest in this respect. The Mughal emperors had patronized painters ever since the time of Babur, but it was under Akbar that special attention was paid and funds were made available for the maintenance of a sufficiently big establishment of court painters. Jahangir and Shahjahan as also the later Mughals continued the practice and consequently we have a continuous record of their paintings. A good many of these have been lost, yet those that survive, provide us with ample material for studying the culture of the times. We come to know of the utensils, musical-instruments, ornaments, costumes, arms and armour, ensigns and various kinds of tools and implements used in those times. These are records which the historian of medieval society can ill afford to ignore. However for this purpose thorough studies would have to be under taken as every minute detail in the miniatures would require the most careful scrutiny.

From the point of view of material culture the Akbari illustrations constitute a rich source of information. Utensils used in the Mughal court must have been of a great variety, but as the scenes depicting them are few in number the knowledge we can gather from them can not but be sketchy. Utensils are mostly represented in the scenes of feasts and festi-

vities and formal gatherings¹. Besides their representation in domestic scenes, one may occasionally find their stylized and purely ornamental forms employed as emblems or symbols in the ensigns of the royalty viz: '*Alams*'². Various categories of the utensils with commemorative ornamentation displayed in the miniatures, are of importance in providing information on the technology and tenor of life of a given period. These may be roughly divided into five groups: Kitchen-pots; serving-pots; decorative-utensils; drinking-pots and cutlery.

The Kitchen-pots have mostly broad faces, small necks and round or spherical bodies with oval or flatish bottoms. These are invariably large in size, as each item of the meal was cooked in quantity, and simple in shape, decorated with geometrical patterns on the surface.

The serving pots are of various types, their shapes varying according to the item each of it was meant to serve. There are long and shallow, occasionally deep dishes for containing fruit, bowls with or without lids, oval or semicircular dishes for holding liquid foods, large platters for rice preparations, long serving dishes of the kind known as *Qab* for vegetable and meat preparations and trays for holding roasted birds or large pieces of meat. There are wine-containers like the long narrow-necked flasks reminiscent of the Persian *Mina*, beautiful jars and drinking bowls and cups, the familiar *Pyala* and *Surahis* of Persian poetry.

Utensils used purely for decorative purposes included big and small flower-pots, candle-sticks and *zair-i-itrдан*—a stand employed to hold the perfume containers.

Wine-pots:

Wine-pots include both drinking cups and containers.

Drinking Cups (Pyalas) :

A great variety of their forms and designs are seen in the miniatures but these are all small in size, and invariably possess wide openings

1. *Razm* pl. 5 (Baroda) pls. 37, 38, 84, 88, 121, 125, 199 (Jaipore)
Akb; ff. 6b, 54, 169 (C.B.); pls. 27, 28, 32, 74, 94, 113 (V.A.)
Diwan; ff. 30, 116, 211, 247 (Rampur);
Anwar; ff. 5, 93, 100, 178, 190 (Varanasi);
Tarikh; ff. 4b, 6b, 20a, 40b, 72a, 104a, 118a, 131b, 136b, 205b, 245a, (Patna);
Tuzuk; ff. 2, 80, 199, 253, 257, 260, 279, 295, 417 (B.M.); pls. 10, 11, 23, 24, 33, 24, 33, 64 (Moscow)
2. *Akb*; f. 226b (C.B.); pl. 15 (V.A.);
Razm; pl. 72 (Jaipore);
Tarikh; ff. 11b, 14a, 23b, 24b, 73b, 202a, 227b, 238a, 337b (Patna).

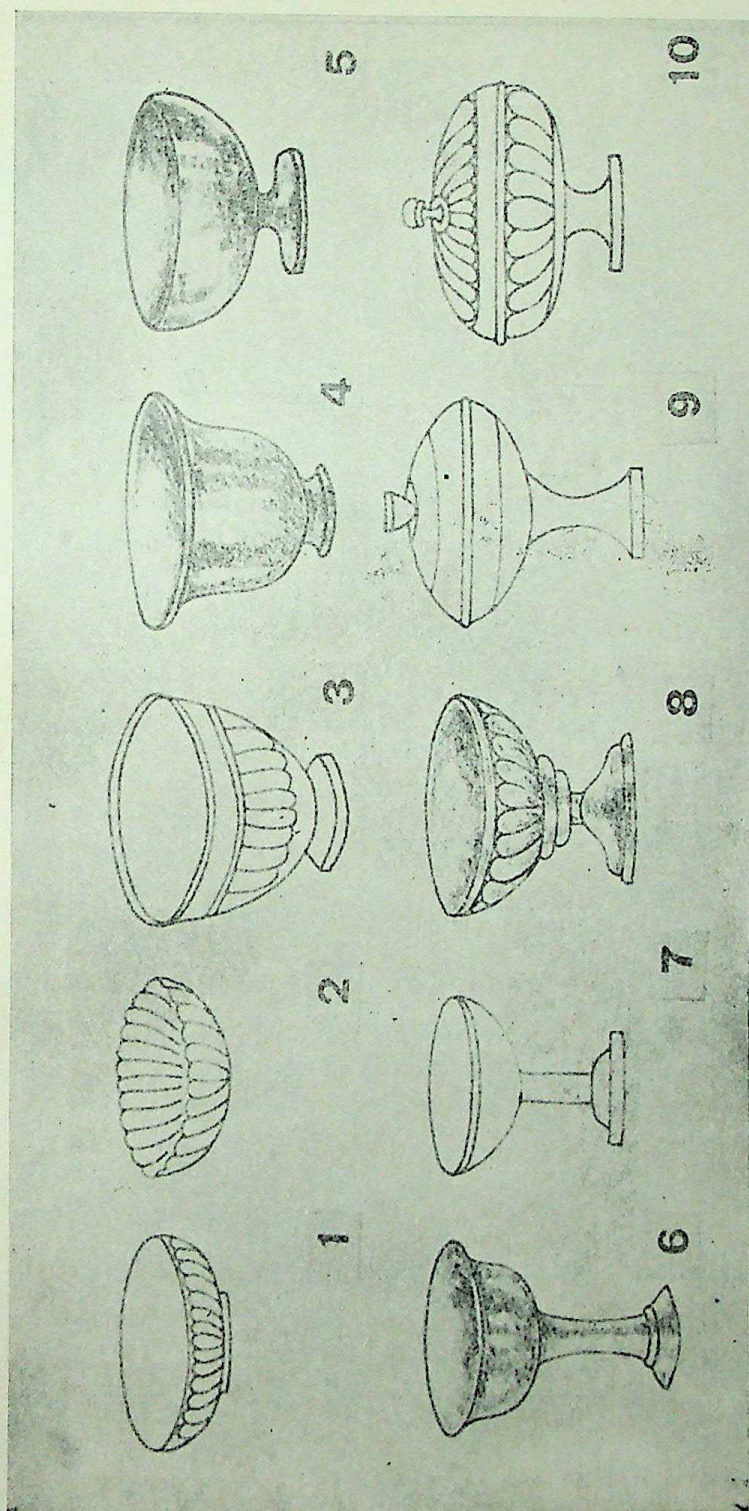
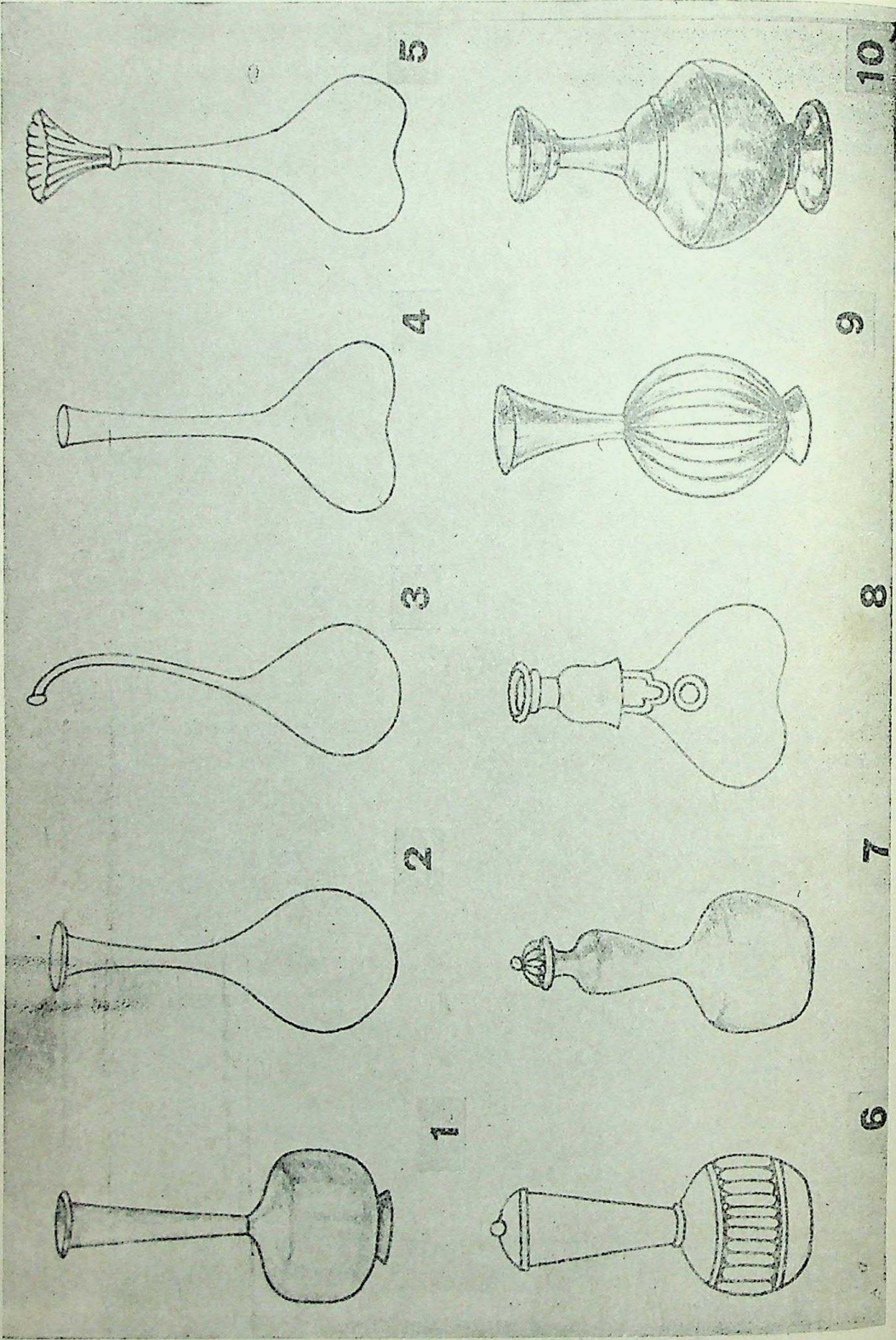
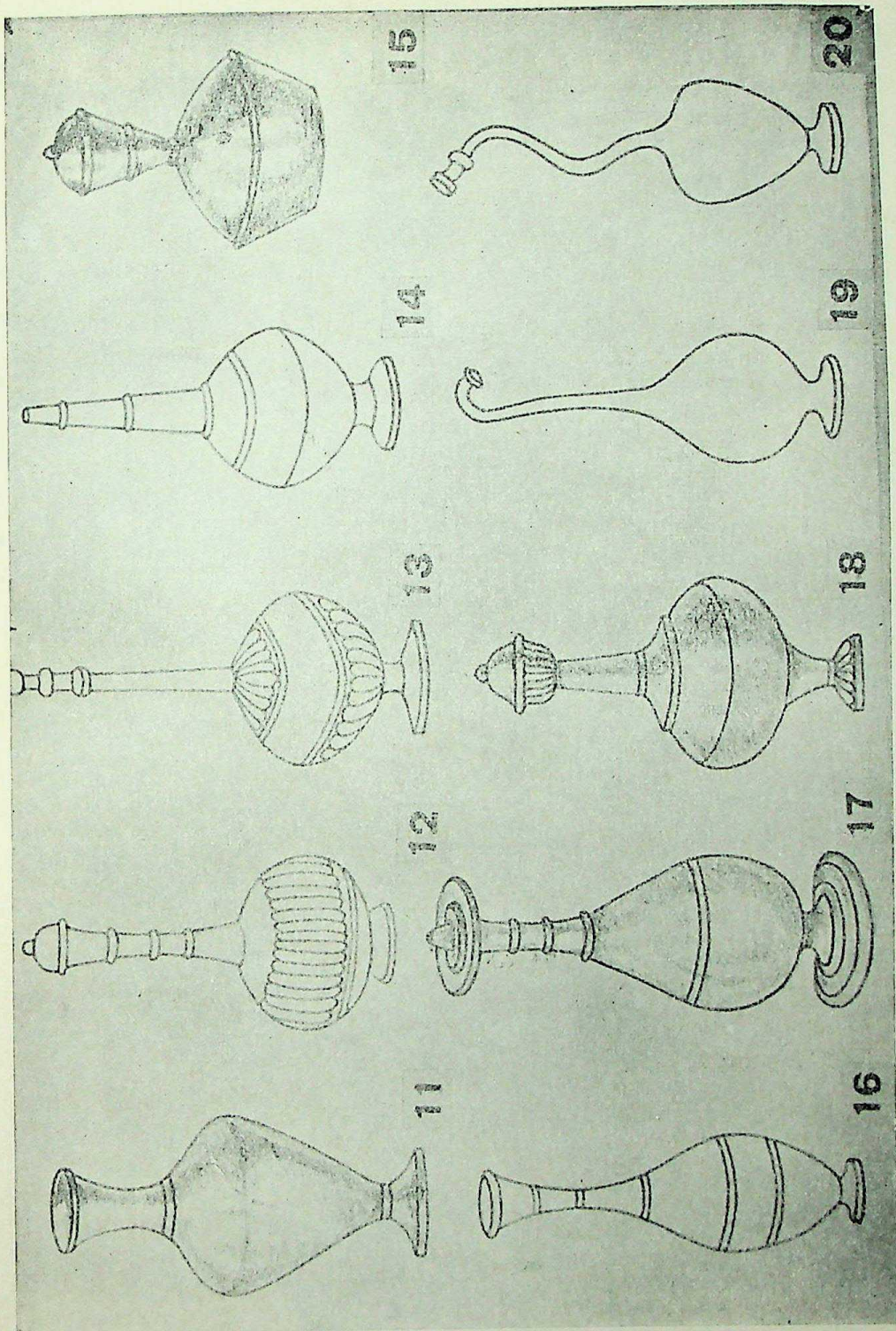
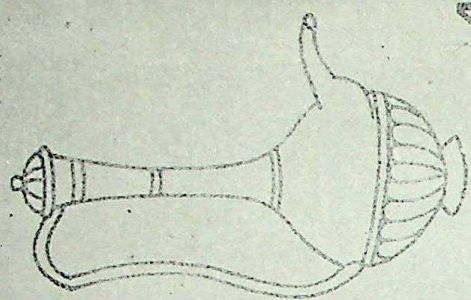


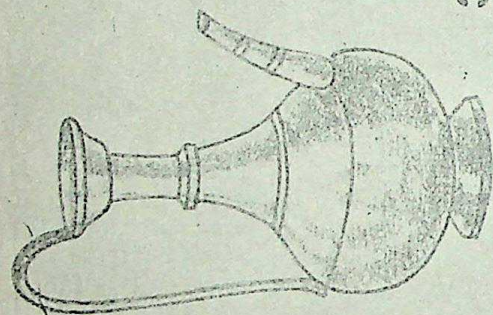
Plate I: *Pyalas* (1-10)



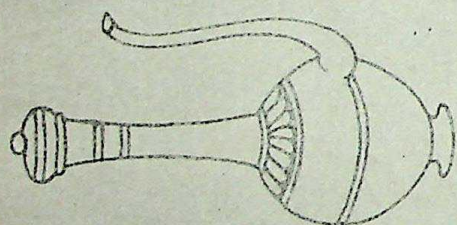




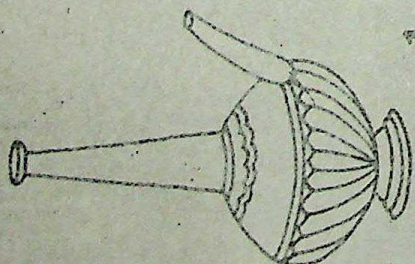
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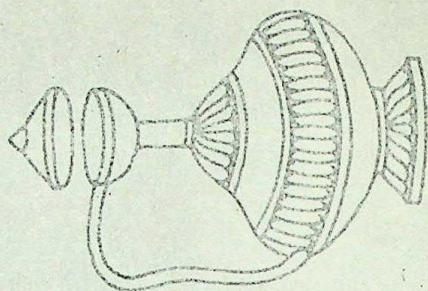
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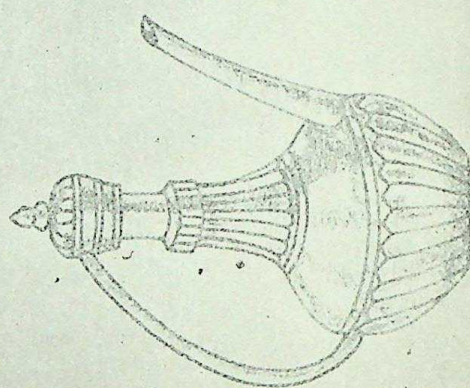
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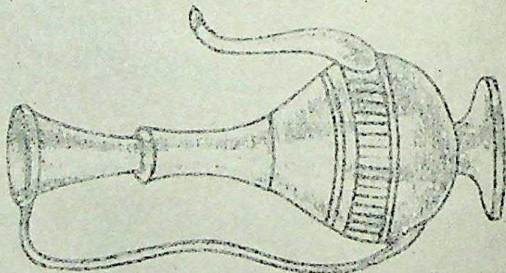
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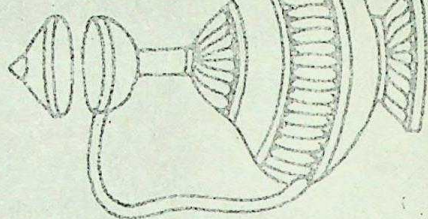
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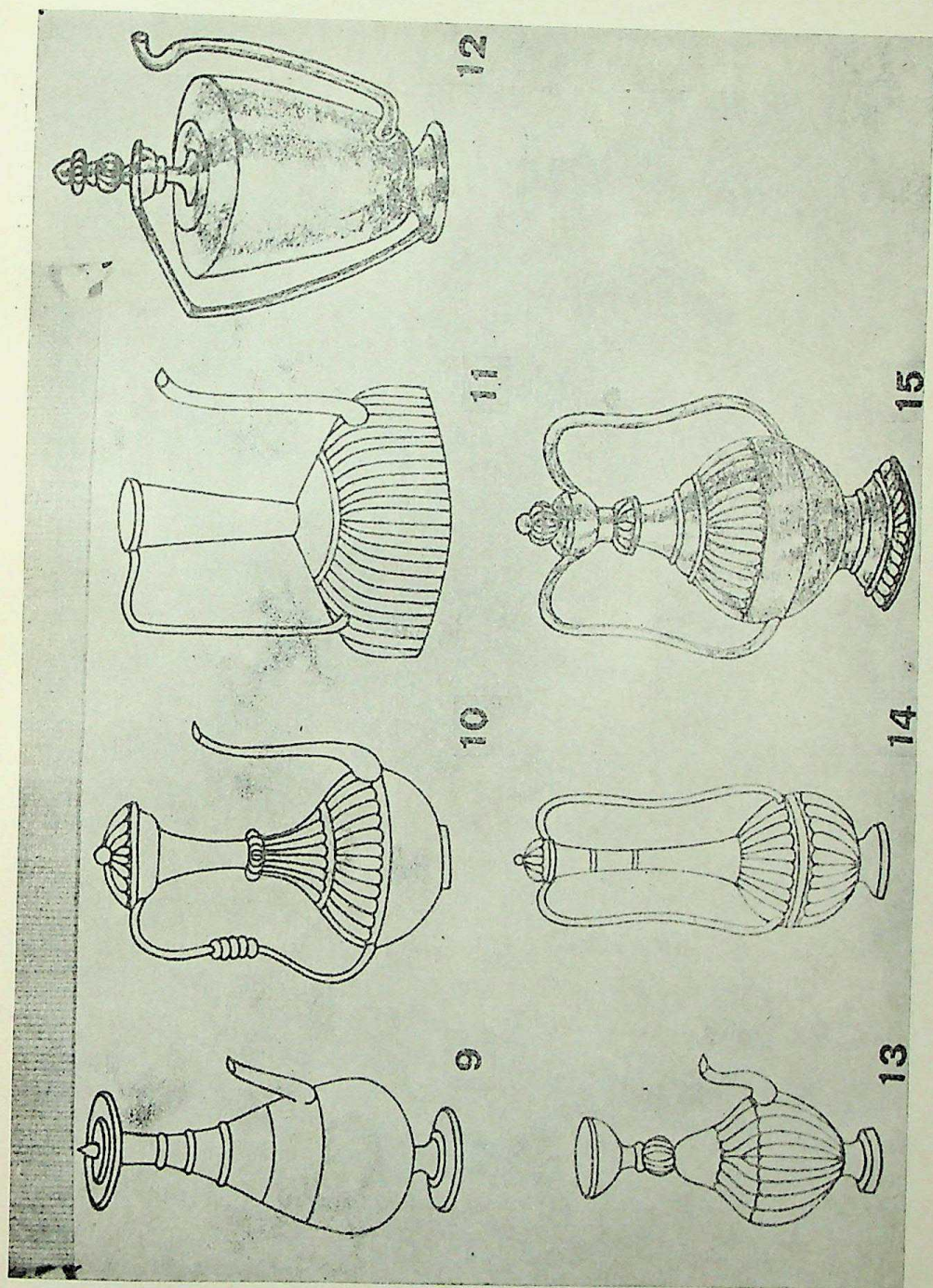
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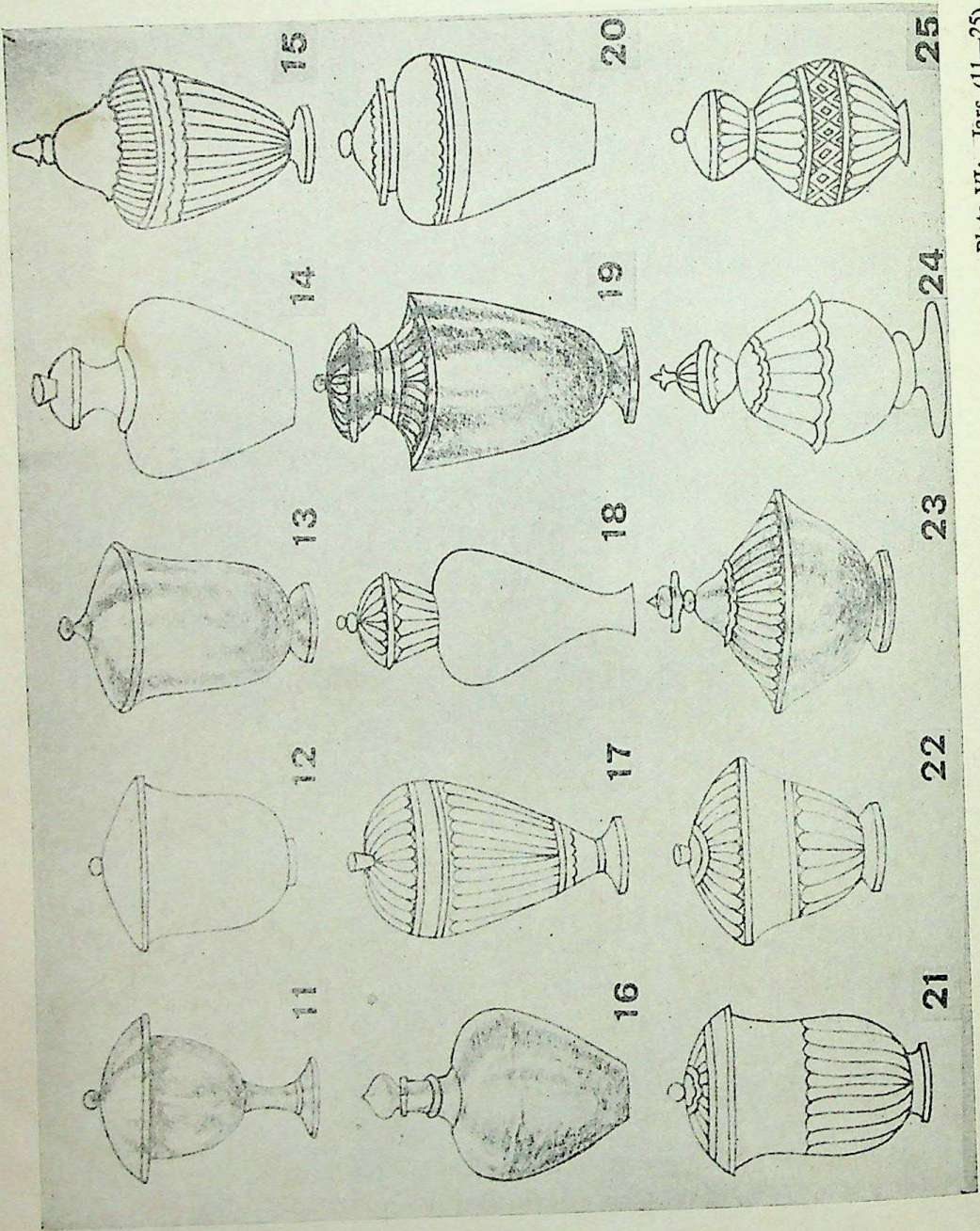
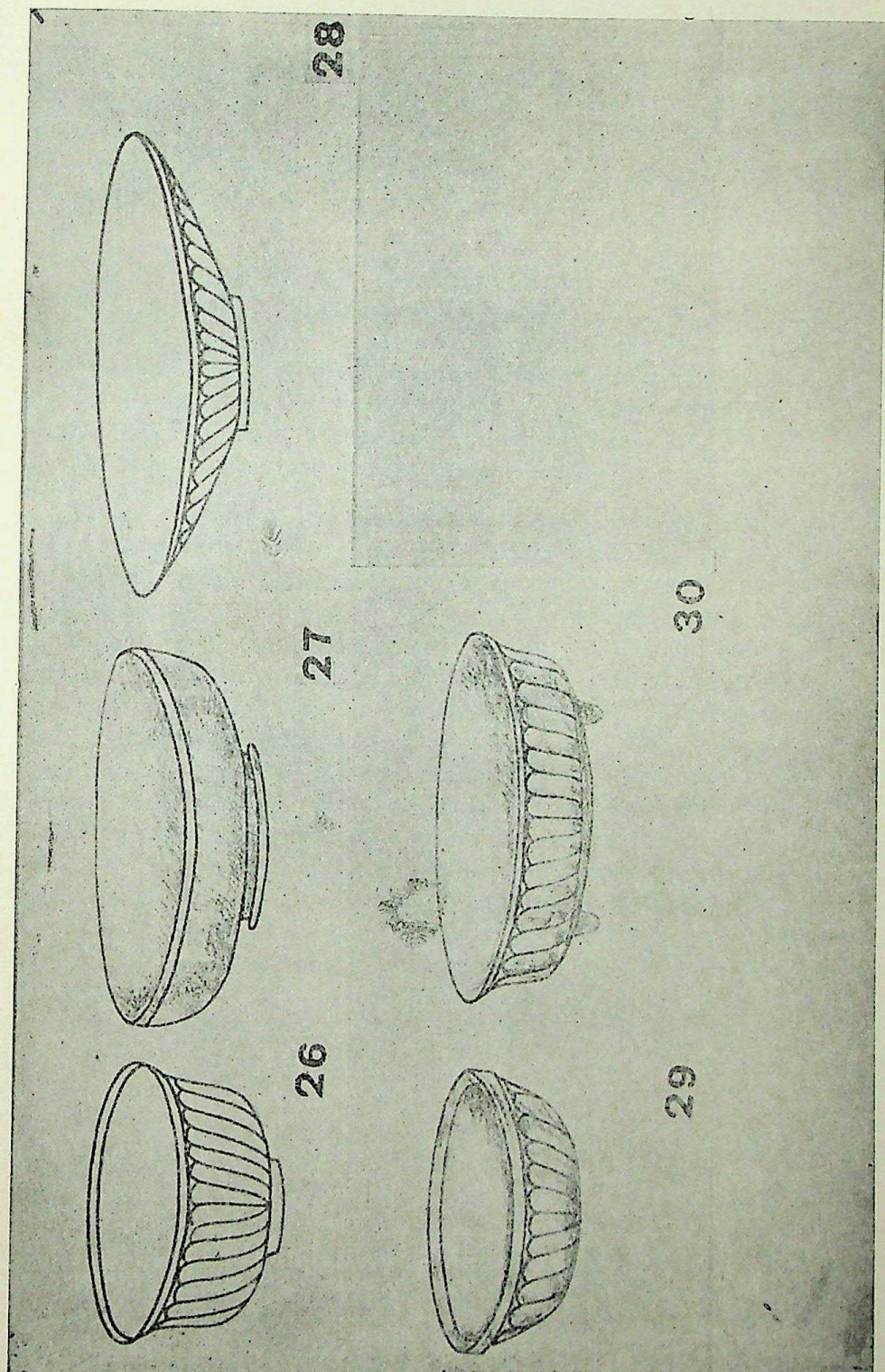


Plate VI: Jars (11—25)



with the sides gradually narrowing towards the bottom³. A few have flatish bottoms while others rest on a platform base. The stand which supports the bowl, varied in height. *Pyalas* are sometimes provided with lids. A *Pyala*⁴, without a lid—now a days known as *jam*—is represented in the Folio 54 (*Akb.* C.B.). and consists of a cylindrical body, opening like a funnel. In large cups the body is more elongated than the base.

Wine-Containers:

Containers are of two types, distinguished by the absence or presence of handles and spouts. The plain ones are the *Surahis*.⁵ They have long graceful necks with flower or funnel shaped mouths. Generally, the body, is round almost spherical. Their necks could be straight or narrow in the middle or curved on one side or serpentine in form. Short necked *Surahis* are occasionally met with. *Surahis* may or may not have a stand. A few *Surahis* have typical bottoms—graduated in the middle.⁶

Surahis could be carried along, in a leather-case provided with a sling.⁷ The case covered the whole body of the pot, leaving the neck out. Apart from these, bottles made of leather, and resembling the *Surahi* in form, used even now a days in Rajasthan, could be carried by people and by soldiers in the expeditions.⁸ It could be slung across the shoulder or fastened round the waist by a string tied to the top of lid. The second type includes what are called *Mina*⁹ in Persian These are tall, graceful *Surahis* with generally long spouts emanating from the middle or the lower part of the body. Spouts are mostly shaped like the stiff neck of a swan. There may be only one handle or two on opposite sides scaling the entire length of the pot and beautifully curved. The double handle *Minas* do not have a spout. Instead they open like *Surahis* and are provided with lids. Rarely, we come across *Minas* with one handle and opening like *Surahis*. In one of the illustrations (*Tuzuk*; F. 208 B.M.) are shown three *Minas*. Their double handles are shaped like the two arms of a bow each emanating from the middle of the pot and curving upwards with the ends attached by means of gold or silver chains to the centre of the lid at its top.

3. Plate I; fig. 1—10

4. *Ibid*; fig. 6

5. Plate II, III, fig. 1—20

6. *Ibid*; fig. 4, 5, 8.

7. *Tarikh*; f. 62a (Patna).

8. *Akb*; pl. 6 (V.A.); *Razm*; pl. 43 (Jaipore); *Tarikh*; pl. 63 (Patna).

9. Plate IV; V; fig. 1—15

Besides the *Surahis* and *Minas*, there are beautiful jars,¹⁰ generally tall and hemi-spherical in shape with small necks and bases. The jars are large in size than *Surahis*. Mostly, jars are broad at the centre and the sides gradually taper towards the bottom. Their lids are not different from those of *Pyalas* in form and decoration. The jars with funnel openings closely resemble the bowls.

Surahi-containers :¹¹

To hold the *Surahi* and *Pyalas* etc. large and deep dishes are employed. Their sides are convex with the rim either curving outwards or inwards. Occasionally the sides are upright. The base is always flat to provide an even surface for the pots to stand on. A few have a platform base and in a few others small legs are fixed to the base. (pl. 94, *Akb. V.A.*)

Grace, decorativeness and symmetry are the chief characteristics of the Mughal utensils. The stylized and geometric decoration has been employed without interfering with the beauty of the form. Particularly, interesting examples are seen in the forms of *Surahis* and *Minas*: zig-zag, or serpentine necks and their beautifully curved handles. According to the *Ain*, great care was taken to preserve the shape and metal of the utensils¹². Utensils made of copper were polished with tin every few months. This practice is still prevalent in India and it is quite possible that it was introduced by the Muslims in the middle ages¹³.

The utensils used in the court were made of copper, bronze, china clay, gold and silver¹⁴. The latter were often studded with precious stones. With the passage of time the utensils of the early Mughals have got destroyed. The *Ain* also tells us that the old and used utensils made

10. Plate VI; fig. 11—25

11. Plate VII; fig. 26—30

12. "The copper utensils are tinned twice a month; those of the princes etc., once; whatever is broken is given to the braziers, who make new ones." *Ain-i Akbari* (Bloch.); Vol. I, p. 61.

13. "The use of tin for coating household metallic utensils as a protection against acid food and metallic (copper) poisoning, may be said to have gained currency in India from the middle ages, possibly after the advent of the Muslims". *History of Chemistry in Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 217; line 30-33.

14. *Ain* (Bloch.); Vol. I.P. 60, line 34-35 and p. 61, line 7-8. (Abul Fazl has stated that the stock of dishes and other utensils was maintained by the pantry elrk. To distinguish the dishes, the dishes made of gold were tied-up in red cloth while the dishes of copper and china—clay in white cloth.)

of copper and bronze etc. were periodically replaced by the new¹⁵. Those made of gold and silver have been melted down. The Victoria and Albert Museum in London, however has a gold spoon studded with rubies and diamonds which has been ascribed to the time of Akbar¹⁶.

There are many more items which can be studied in greater detail with the help of written records. The Akbari illustrations are particularly rich in this respect and taken along with other collections could provide us with a valuable source for the study of Mughal culture. Since, however, the illustrations, with rare exceptions depict life at the Mughal Court, studies based on them would tend to be narrow and limited in scope. The greater part of the story would still remain unrelated. It is the lives of the people in general that requires the attention of scholars. In the absence of directly relevant sources however, the historian can rely on the pictorial representations of the numerous themes chosen privately or by order of their patrons by artists from time to time. This comprises a mass of material including such items as albums prepared in the courts, portraitures and independent paintings by the artists. No less important are the illustrations of fictional texts. The task therefore present many difficulties but is none the less necessary and well worth the labour and the trouble.

SOM PRAKASH VERMA

Aligarh

15. *Ibid*; p. 61; line 25-27.

16. 'Nevertheless a gold ruby and diamond spoon of massive and simple floral design somehow escaped the melting pot. It may have been made in the workshop near the palace, to which Akbar, according to Abbul Fazl, paid regular visits.' *The Art of Mughal India*, p. 31; line. 15-18.

PROVINCIAL GOVERNORS UNDER SHAH JAHAN

An Analysis

In a paper submitted at the Allahabad session of this Congress¹, I worked out the details of the appointments and terms of office of the provincial Governors of the reign of Aurangzeb. In that paper, I had suggested that such information might be of value for judging the share of different racial factions of the nobility in executive power and for following the degree of frequency with which the highest post in the provinces changed hands. It would also be of use to the local historian. I had then also hoped that the study on these lines would be extended to the reign of other emperors, to permit a view on a still larger perspective. Taking my own counsel, I am now presenting a study of the Governors during the entire reign of Shah Jahan (1627-1658), attempted on practically the same lines. For Jahangir's reign, similar information, has already been presented by my colleague, Professor Irfan Habib, though the context was different².

As is well known, the larger part of Shah Jahan's reign (i.e. 30 lunar years) are covered by the detailed official chronicle, the *Badshah Nama*, written by Lahauri (the first two decades) and Waris (the third decade). For the remaining period of two years we have to depend upon the '*Amal-i Salih*'. I have compiled my own list principally from the *Badshah Nama* and have supplemented it by other sources, wherever available. As in my paper on the Provincial Governors under Aurangzeb, I have given detailed references to substantiate my list.

The main table seeks to give for each province a list of its Governors, with the full duration of their terms of office in terms of the regnal years of Shah Jahan. This is practically complete for all the major provinces. In the case of the provinces of Delhi and Agra, where there are blanks, the reason mostly is that no Governor was appointed because of the presence of the Emperor. The degree to which our information is complete can be judged from

1. "Provincial Governors Under Aurangzeb", subsequently published in *Medieval India—A Miscellany*, Vol. I. pp. 96-134.

2. "The Family of Nur Jahan During Jahangir's Reign—A Political Study", *Medieval India—A Miscellany*, Vol. I, pp. 74-95.

the fact that out of 512 possible entries in our table, we are in fact able to record 466³.

In preparing the tables, certain assumptions consistent with those adopted in my previous study, have been followed. For example, a distinction has been made between deputies of princes, who acted as Governors on behalf of the princes (the latter holding appointments as Governors from the Emperor), and deputies of ordinary Governors. The names of the former have been recorded, while the latter have been ignored. In analysing the main Table, again, the Princes who governed through deputies are not treated as Governors at all (generally such princes governed another province directly in person), while the deputies have been regarded at par with ordinary Governors, it being not possible to consider one province having at any times two Governors. If within one year two Governors were appointed, the second appointment has been counted.

As stated already, our record shows 466 years during which provincial Governors are known to have held office. The number of appointments known is 166 and the number of persons serving as Governors 81. In other words, on average each single term of a Governor lasted for less than three years. This compares with an average of a little more than two and a half years that we have found for Aurangzeb⁴, so that in this respect one can see little change during the two reigns. Jahangir's reign also displays the same tendency towards frequent transfers⁵.

In actual fact the range of variations was very great. There is record of single terms of office as Governor extending to 12, 9 and 8 years. At the same time single persons serving as Governors in different provinces, held office for totals of 17, 16, 15 years. In both these respects, Aurangzeb's reign records higher figures. In that reign the maximum period a person held office as Governor of the same province was 23; and the maximum period a single person held office of Governors in different provinces was 41⁶. The

3. The reign lasted for 32 years; so each province carries 32 entries. The subordinate Deccan provinces (Telingana, Balaghat, Painghat) are excluded from my lists.

4. See my article "Provincial Governors Under Aurangzeb"; *Medieval India—A Miscellany*, Vol. I, p. 97.

5. Cf. Irfan Habib, "The Family of Nur Jahan During Jahangir's Reign—A Political Study"; *Medieval India—A Miscellany*, pp. 74-95.

6. See my article "Provincial Governors Under Aurangzeb—An Analysis", *Medieval India—A Miscellany*, Vol. I, pp. 96-133.

latter figure, however, can be ascribed to the much longer period during which Aurangzeb ruled. On the other hand, in Shah Jahan's reign, just as in the reign of Aurangzeb, officers were appointed and dismissed or transferred within the same year. We can thus infer that the Mughal court did not approve of long terms for Governors, and generally transferred or recalled them after two or three years. A table giving the duration of average term of office held by Governors province wise during the reign of Shah Jahan is given below:

Provinces	Total Number of Years for which appointments are known	Total Number of actual appointment as Governors	Average tenure of Governors
Bengal	32	7	4 Years 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ months
Orissa	32	9	3 Years 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ months
Bihar	32	12	2 Years 8 months
Ilahabad	32	10	3 Years 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ months
Awadh	6	4	1 Year 6 months
Agra	18	10	1 Year 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ months
Delhi	28	12	2 Years 4 months
Lahore	32	10	3 Years 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ months
Kashmir	32	10	3 Years 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ months
Kabul	32	8	4 Years
Multan	32	14	2 Years 1 $\frac{2}{3}$ months
Sind	32	14	2 Years 1 $\frac{2}{3}$ months
Ajmer	30	9	3 Years 4 months
Gujarat	32	12	2 Years 8 months
Malwa	32	13	2 Years 5 $\frac{2}{3}$ months
Deccan	32	11	2 Years 11 months

It does not seem that any particular policy regarding a province was behind the longer or shorter terms there. It may be said, in general, that the provinces where conditions were more stable like Bengal, Kabul, Orissa, and Ajmer were allowed to have Governors serving for terms longer than elsewhere. It is interesting to note that Bengal and Kabul also enjoyed the same position under Aurangzeb where too the longest average tenure was found in Bengal, Kabul, Gujarat, Delhi and Bihar (in that order).⁷

7. See my article, "Provincial Governors Under Aurangzeb", *Medieval India—A Miscellany*, Vol. I, p. 98.

The analysis of the personal antecedents of the Governors enables us to assess the social composition of this influential group. These antecedents have been traced from contemporary sources, and the number of persons whose race is not known is insignificant.⁸ The total number of years in which appointments are known during the reign of Shah Jahan is 466, out of which Iranis held appointments for 210 years i.e. 45%, Turanis 104, i.e. 22%; Afghans 11, i.e. 2%; other Indian Muslims 48, i.e. 10%; race not known 18, i.e. 3.8%. During the reign of Aurangzeb the total number of years in which appointments are known is 833, out of which Iranis held the appointments for 536 years, i.e. 64% and Turanis 105 years, i.e. 12.5%, Afghans 7 (slightly less than 1%), other Indian Muslims 84 (10%), Rajputs 10 (1.2%), others including race not known 35 (4.2%)⁹. Thus the Iranis during the reign of Aurangzeb were far more numerous among the Governors than they were under Shah Jahan. On the other hand the Turanis under Shah Jahan held a much better position. This might have been due to a conscious policy on the part of Shah Jahan since he was very proud of being a descendant of Timur, the Qiran-i Sani, and always emphasized the fact that he was a Turani. It appears that during the reign of Jahangir the Iranis had practically monopolized all the important posts in the Empire.¹⁰ From our table No. 1, it will be seen that their number continued to be very large during the first five years of Shah Jahan's reign. But then he appears to have deliberately promoted the Turanis so as to remove the imbalance in the composition of the nobility. The proportion of Indian Muslims was about the same as during the reign of Aurangzeb. The Rajputs and the Afghans were not appointed as Governors in numbers commensurate with their numerical strength in the higher nobility. This again was also to be found under Aurangzeb.

It is interesting to note that the Princes appear as Governors very prominently during the last phase of Shah Jahan's reign, just as was later the case during the last years of Aurangzeb. Their number, even when cases where they governed through deputies are excluded from consideration, was

8. Reference for bio-data of Governors are set out separately in an appendix.

9. Based on the table in my article, "Provincial Governors Under Aurangzeb—An Analysis", *Medieval India—A Miscellany*, Vol. I, pp. 107-123. The calculation of percentages for social composition in the text of that article was on the basis of persons serving as Governors and not as here, the years of office.

10. Irfan Habib, "The Family of Nur Jahan During Jahangir's Reign—A Political Study"; *Medieval India—A Miscellany*, Vol. I, pp. 74-95.

very large. Out of the 10 persons known to have held office, in the 32nd R.Y. of Shah Jahan, as Provincial Governors, as many as 5 were Princes; and out of 14 provinces in which appointments are known as many as 9 were under the Princes (including those governed by them through deputies).

The general picture that emerges from the above study is that, in fact the system of appointments and transfers of Governors remained the same during the 17th century. We can be certain that in the respect of transfers of Governors, the Mughal administration revealed no tendency towards either reducing or increasing their frequency. A less easy question to answer is why certain provinces like Bengal, and Kabul held longer tenures in store for their Governors than others. But that here too the trend in the reigns of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb is the same is quite obvious. Almost the same may be said of the social composition of the Governors, with the Iranis and Turanis the main groups sharing the provincial posts throughout the country, though their respective strengths varied. As for princes, it appeared normal for the Emperor to appoint them to provinces as they came of age, so that towards the end of each reign the number of provinces under them tended to increase. There was, therefore, nothing unique about Shah Jahan's appointments of his sons to so many provinces in his later years.

TABLE I

Racial and Religious Composition of Governors in Each Year

R.Y.	Total No. of Governors known to be holding post during the year (including deputies of Princes appointment at the end of the year counted)	Princes (Not governing through deputies)	Iranis	Turanis	Afghans	Other Indian Muslims	Rajputs and Other Hindus	Race not known	Remark
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1	14		10	1	2	.1	X		
2	15		11	2	2	X	X		
3	15		11	3	1	X	X		
4	15		10	4	X	1	X		
5	15		8	6	X	1	X		
6	15		7	6	X	1	1		
7	15		6	6	X	2	1		
8	15		6	5	1	2	1		
9	15		7	5	1	1	1		
10	15	1	4	6	1	2	1		
11	15	1	4	6	1	3	X		

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
12	15	2	4	6	1	2	X		
13	15	1	6	6	X	2	X		
14	15	1	5	6	X	2	1		
15	15	2	6	4	X	2	1		
16	15	3	7	3	X	1	1		
17	14	2	7	4	X	1	X		
18	15	3	7	2	X	2	X		
19	15	3	8	1	X	2	X	1	
20	14	1	9	2	X	1	X	1	
21	15	3	6	4	X	1	X	1	
22	15	3	7	2	1	X	X	2	
23	15	5	6	2	X	X	X	2	
24	14	4	6	1	X	1	X	2	
25	14	3	6	2	X	1	X	2	
26	15	5	6	X	X	2	X	1	
27	13	5	4	X	X	1	1	1	
28	13	5	5	X	X	2	X	X	
29	13	5	5	1	X	2	X	X	
30	13	3	4	1	X	3	X	2	
31	15	3	6	2	X	2	X	1	
32	14	4	4	2	X	3	X	1	

TABLE
PROVINCIAL GOVERNORS UNDER SHAH JAHAN

For convenience in reproduction, the Table has been divided into 4 parts. Part (a) tabulates the information for the provinces of Bengal, Orissa, Bihar, Ilahabad; (b) for Awadh, Agra, Delhi, Lahore; (c) for Kashmir, Kabul, Multan, Sind; (d) for Ajmer, Gujarat, Malwa, Deccan.

The name of each Governor is followed by an abbreviation within parenthesis indicating his social origin. The abbreviations used are:

P	Prince
I	Irani
T	Turani
R	Rajput
Af	Afghan
Ind.	Other Indian Muslim
(d) Stands for 'died while holding the appointment.'	

R.Y.	BENGAL	ORISSA	BIHAR	ILAHABAD
At Jahangir's death.	Fidai Khan	Baqar Khan Najm-i-Sani	Mirza Rustam Safawi	Bahadur Khan Uzbek
1.	Qasim Khan Juwani 5,000/5,000 (2-3h) (I)	Baqar Khan Najam Sani (I) 4,000/4,000	Khan-i-Alam (T) 6,000/5,000 Saif Khan (I) 4,000/4,000	Jan Sipar Khan (I) 4,000/4,000
2.	" 5,000/5,000 (2-3h)	" 4,000/4,000	" 4,000/4,000	Qulij Khan (T) 3,000/2,500
3.	" 5,000/5,000 (2-3h) (Ind.)	" 4,000/4,000 (Ind.)	" 4,000/4,000	" 4,000/3,000 (T)
4.	" 5,000/5,000 (2-3h) (I)	" 4,000/4,000 (I)	" 4,000/4,000 (I)	" 4,000/3,500 (T)

R.Y.	BENGAL	ORISSA	BIHAR	ILAHABAD
5.	<p>”</p> <p>5,000/5,000 (2-3h) (T)</p> <p>Iradat Khan alias Azam Khan (I)</p> <p>6,000/6,000</p>	<p>”</p> <p>4,000/4,000 (I)</p> <p>Mutaqad Khan 4,000/3,000 (T)</p>	<p>Abdullah Khan (T)</p> <p>6,000/6,000</p>	<p>”</p> <p>4,000/4,000 (T)</p> <p>Saif Khan 4,000/4,000 (I)</p>
6.	<p>”</p> <p>6,000/6,000 (I)</p>	<p>”</p> <p>4,000/3,000 (T)</p>	<p>”</p> <p>6,000/6,000 (T)</p>	<p>”</p> <p>4,000/4,000 (I)</p>
7.	<p>”</p> <p>6,000/6,000 (I)</p>	<p>”</p> <p>4,000/3,000 (T)</p>	<p>”</p> <p>6,000/6,000 (T)</p>	<p>”</p> <p>4,000/4,000 (I)</p>
8.	<p>”</p> <p>6,000/6,000 (I)</p> <p>Islam Khan (I)</p> <p>5,000/5,000 (2-3h)</p>	<p>”</p> <p>4,000/3,000 (T)</p>	<p>”</p> <p>6,000/6,000 (T)</p>	<p>”</p> <p>4,000/4,000 (I)</p> <p>Azam Khan (I)</p> <p>6,000/6,000</p>
9.	<p>Islam Khan (I)</p> <p>5,000/5,000 (2-3h)</p>	<p>Mutaqad Khan (T)</p> <p>4,000/3,000</p>	<p>Abdullah Khan (T)</p> <p>6,000/6,000</p>	<p>Azam Khan (I)</p> <p>6,000/6,000</p>
10.	<p>”</p> <p>5,000/5,000 (2-3h)</p> <p>3,000 (2h)</p>	<p>”</p> <p>4,000/4,000 (T)</p>	<p>”</p> <p>6,000/6,000 (T)</p>	<p>Baqar Khan Najm Sani (I)</p> <p>4,000/4,000</p> <p>Syed Shujat Khan (Ind.)</p> <p>4,000/4,000 (2500 2-3h)</p>

R.Y.	BENGAL	ORISSA	BIHAR	ILAHABAD
11.	5,000/5,000 (4000x2h) (I)	4,000/4,000 (T)	6,000/6,000 (T)	4,000/4,000 (2500x2h) (Ind.)
12.	5,000/5,000 (I) (4000x2- 3h) Shah Shuja 15000/9,000 (P)	4,000/4,000 (T)	Shaista Khan (I) 5,000/5,000 (3000x2h)	4,000/4,000 (2500x2h) (Ind.)
13.	15,000/9,000 (6000x2h) Siyadat Khan (I) (Dy) 1,000/400	Shahnawaz Khan (I) 4,000/4,000	5,000/5,000 (3000x2h) (I)	4,000/4,000 (3500x2h) 4,000/4,000 (2-3h)
14.	15,000/9,000 (6000x2-3 h) (I) (Dy) 1,000/400	4,000/4,000 (I)	5,000/5,000 (2000x2h) (I)	4,000/4,000 (2-3h) (Ind.)
15.	15,000/10,000 (7000x2-3h) (P)	15,000/10,000 (P) (7000 2-3h) Shah Shuja Mohd. Zaman Tahrani (Dy) (I) 2,000/2,000	5,000/5,000 (2000x2h) (I)	4,000/4,000 (2-3h) (Ind.)

R.Y.	BENGAL	ORISSA	BIHAR	ILAHABAD
16.	„	„	„	Abdullah Khan (T)
	15,000/10,000	2,000/2,000(P)	5,000/5,000	6,000/6,000
	(7000x2-3h)	(P)	(2000x2h)	Firoz Jang
	(P)	Mohd. Zama	Itiqad Khan	Shaista Khan
		Tahrani	(I)	(I)
		15,000/10,000	5,000/5,000	5,000/5,000
		(I) (7000x2-3h)		(3000x2-3h)
17.	„ (P)	„	„	„
	15,000/10,000	15,000/10,000	5,000/5,000	5,000/5,000
	(7000x2-3h)	(7000x2-3h)	(I)	(4000x2-3h)
		2,000/2,000		(I)
		(I)		
18.	„	„ (P)	„	Dara Shukoh (P)
	15,000/10,000	15,000/10,000	5,000/5,000	20,000/20,000
	(7000x2-3h)	(7000x2-3h)	(I)	(10,000x2-3h)
	(P)	2,000/2,000 (I)		Baqi Beg
				(Dy) 1,000/200
19.	„	Mutaqad Khan	„	„ (P)
	15,000/10,000	4,000/4,000	5,000/5,000	20,000/20,000
	(7000x2-3h)	(T)	(I)	(10,000x2-3h)
	(P)			Baqi Beg (Dy)
				1,000/200
20.	Itiqad Khan	„	Azam Khan	„ (P)
	(I)			
	5,000/5,000	4,000/4,000	6,000/6,000	20,000/20,000
		(T)	(I)	(10000x2-3h)
				Baqi Beg (Dy)
				1,000/400
21.	Shah Shuja	„	Saeed Khan	„
	(P)			
	15,000/10,000	4,000/4,000	7,000/7,000	30,000/20,000
	(8000x2-3h)	(T)	(5000x2-3h)	(10000x2-3h)
			(T)	(P)

R.Y.	BENGAL	ORISSA	BIHAR	ILAHABAD
22.	„ 15,000/10,000 (2-3h) (P)	Shah Shuja Jan Beg (Dy) 15,000/10,000 (P) (2-3h)	„ 7,000/7,000 (5000x2-3h) (T)	„ 30,000/20,000 (10000x2-3h) (P)
23.	15,000/10,000 (P) (2-3h)	15,000/10,000 (P) (2-3h)	7,000/7,000 (5000x2-3h) (T)	30,000/20,000 (10,000x2-3h) (P)
24.	„ 20,000/15,000 (P) (2-3h)	„ 20,000/15,000 (P) (2—3 H) Mohd. Hayat (Dy) 500/500	„ 7,000/7,000 (5000X2-3h) (T)	„ 30,000/20,000 (10,000x2h) (P) Syed Salabet Khan (Ind.) (Dy) 1500/1500
25.	„ (P) 20,000/15,000 (2-3h)	„ 20,000/15,000 (P) (2-3h) Mohd. Hayat (Dy) 500/500	Alah Quli Khan 2,500/1,500 (T)	„ (P) 30,000/20,000 (10,000x2h) Salabat Khan 1500/1500 (Ind.) (Dy)
26.	„ (P) 20,000/15,000 (2-3h)	„ 20,000/15,000 (P) (2-3h) „ 500/500 (Dy)	Jafar Khan 5,000/5,000 (2000-2h) (I)	„ 30,000/20,000 (2-3h) Salabatkhan 2,000/1,500 (Ind.)
27.	„ 20,000/15,000 (P) (2-3h)	„ 500/500 (P) 20,000/15,000 (2-3h)	„ 5,000/5,000 (2,000x2-3h) (I)	„ 2,000/1,500 (Ind.) 30,000/20,000 (2-3h)

R.Y.	BENGAL	ORISSA	BIHAR	ILAHABAD
28.	20,000/15,000 (P) (2-3h)	Samsamuddaula (Dy) 1500/500 (I) 20,000/15,000 (I) (2-3h)	5,000/5,000 (2500x2-3h) (I)	30,000/20,000 (2-3h) (Ind.) 2,000/1,500
29.	20,000/15,000 (P) (2-3h)	(P) Tarbiyat Khan 2,000/1,500 (T)	5,000/5,000 (2500x2-3h)	40,000/20,000 (2-3h) 2,000/1,500 (Ind.)
30.	20,000/15,000 (P) (2-3h)	(P) 2,000/1,500 (T)	Zulfiqar Khan 3,000/3,000 (I) (2-3h)	2,000/1,500 40,000/20,000 (2-3h)
31.	(P) 20,000/15,000 (2-3h)	(P) 20,000/15,000 (2-3h)	Qasim Khan 5,000/5,000 (I) (Ind.)	(Ind.) 60,000/40,000 (30,000x2-3h)
32.	20,000/15,000 (P) (2-3h)	(P) 20,000/15,000 (2-3h)	60,000/40,000 (30,000x2-3h) Dara Shukoh (P) Bahadur Khan (Dy) 4,000/3,000	(Ind.) 60,000/40,000 (30000x2-3h)

R.Y.	AWADH	AGRA	DEHLI	LAHORE
At Jahangir's death 1.		Qasim Khan II Wazir Khan (Ind.) 5,000/3,000	Mukhtar Khan Qulij Khan (T) 2,500/2,000	Asaf Khan Asaf Khan (I) 8,000/8,000 (2-3h)
2.		Islam Khan (I) 4,000/2,500	Mahabat Khan (I) 7,000/7,000 (2-3h)	8,000/8,000 (2-3h) (I)

R.Y.	AWADH	AGRA	DELHI	LAHORE
3.		" 4,000/3,000 (I) 4,000/4,000	" 7,000/7,000 (2-3h) (I)	" 8,000/8,000 (2-3h) (I)
4.		" 4,000/4,000 (I) Safdar Khan 3,000/2,000 (T)	" 7,000/7,000 (2-3h) (I)	" 8,000/8,000 (2-3h) (I)
5.		" 4,000/2,500 (T)	" 7,000/7,000 (I) (2-3h) Lashkar Khan 5,000/4,000 (I)	" 8,000/8,000 (2-3h) Wazir Khan. (Ind.) 5,000/5,000 (1000x2h)
6.		" 4,000/3,500 (T)	" (I) 5,000/4,000 Itiqad Khan 4,000/4,000 (I)	" 5,000/5,000 (1000x2-3h) (Ind.)
7.		Syed Khan Jahan (Ind.) 5,000/5,000 (2000x2-3h)	" 4,000/4,000 (I)	" 5,000/5,000 (1000x2-3h) (Ind.)
8.		Syed Khan Jahan 5,000/5,000 (Ind.) (2000-2h)	" 4,000/4,000 (I) Baqar Khan Asalat Khan 3,000/2,500 (I)	" 5,000/5,000 (1000x2-3h) (Ind.)

R.Y.	AWADH	AGRA	DELHI	LAHORE
9.		Azam Khan (I) 6,000/6,000	,, 3,000/2,500 (I)	Wazir Khan 5,000/5,000 (1000x2-3h) (Ind.)
10.		Saif Khan (I) 4,000/4,000	,, 3,000/2,500 Ghairat Khan 2,500/2,000 (T)	,, 5,000/5,000 (1000-2h) (Ind.)
11.	,,	,, 4,000/4,000 (I)	,, 2,500/2,000 (T)	5,000/5,000 (1000x2-3h) (Ind.)
12.		Safdar Khan (T) 4,000/3,000	,, 2,500/2,000 (T) Allahwardi Khan 5,000/5,000 (T)	,, 5,000/5,000 (1000x2-3h) (Ind.) Mutamad Khan 4,000/1,200 (I)
13.		,, 5,000/3,000 (T)	,, 5,000/5,000 (T)	,, 4,000/12,00 Ali Mardan Khan (I) 7,000/7,000 (3000x2-3h)
14.		,, 5,000/5,000 (2-3h) (Ind.) Wazir Khan 5,000/5,000 (1000-2h) Raja Bethal Das 4,000/3,000 (Ind.)	,, 5,000/5,000 (T)	Saeed Khan Bahadur (T) 5,000/5,000 (3000x2-3h)

R.Y.	AWADH	AGRA	DELHI	LAHORE
15.		„ 4,000/3,000 (Ind.)	Makarmat Khan 3,000/3,000 (I) (500x2-3h)	„ 5,000/5,000 (3000x2-3h) (T)
16.		„ 5,000/3,000 (Ind.)	„ 3,000/3,000 (I) (1000x2-3h)	„ 5,000/5,000 (3000x2-3h) (T)
17.			„ 3,000/3,000 (1000 2-3h) (I)	Qulij Khan 5,000/5,000 (2,000 2-3h)
18.		„ 3,000/1,500 Shaikh Farid (Ind.)	„ 4,000/4,000 (2,000 2-3h) (I)	„ 5,000/5,000 (2,000 2-3h)
19.		„ 3,000/1,500 (Ind.)	„ 4,000/4,000 (3000-2h) (I)	„ 5,000/4,000 Jafar Khan (I)
20.			„ 4,000/4,000 (3000x2-3h) (I)	„ 5,000/4,000 (I) Dara Shuko h 20,000/20,000 (P) (2-3h)
21.	Mirza Khan Son of Shah Nawaz Khan (T)		„ 5,000/5,000 (I) (2-3h)	„ 30,000/20,000 (P) (10,000-2h)
22.	Itiqad Khan 5,000/5,000 (I)		„ 5,000/5,000 (I) (2-3h)	„ 30,000/20,000 (10,000x2-3h) (P)

R.Y.	AWADH	AGRA	DELHI	LAHORE
23.	” 5,000/5,000 (I)		”(I) Jafar Khan 5,000/5,000 (I) (2-3h)	” 30,000/20,000 (10,000x2-3h) (P)
24.			Khalilullah Khan 4,000/3,000 (I)	” 30,000/20,000 (10000x2-3h) (P)
25.			Khalilullah Khan 4,000/3,000 (I)	” 30,000/20,000 (10000x2-3h) (P)
26.	Shahnawaz Khan Safvi 5,000/5,000 (I) (2-3h)		” 5,000/4,000 (I)	” 30,000/20,000 (P) (2-3h)
27.				” 30,000/20,000 (P) (2-3h)
28.				” 30,000/20,000 (P) (2-3h)
29.				” 40,000/20,000 (P) (2-3h)
30.				” (P) Khwaja Muin Khan (Dy) 40,000/20,000 (P) (2-3h)

R.Y.	AWADH	AGRA	DELHI	LAHORE
31.	Tarbiyat Khan 2,000/1,500 (1000x2-3h) (T)		Khalillullah Khan 5,000/5,000 (I)	" Bahadur Khan (Dy) 4,000/3,000 60,000/40,000 (30000x2-3h)

32.	" 2,000/1,500 (T) (1000x2-3h)		" 5,000/5,000 (I)	" Izzat Khan 2,000/2,000 (500x2-3h) 60,000/40,000 (30000x2-3h) (Ind.)
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R.Y.	KASHMIR	KABUL	MULTAN	SIND
At Jahangir's death.	Itiqad Khan	Khawaja Abul Hasan	Asaf Khan	Abu Said
1.	Itiqad Khan 4,000/4,000 (I)	Lashkar Khan 5,000/4,000 (I)	Asaf Khan 8,000/8,000 (I) (2-3h)	Khawaja Baqi Khan alias Sher Khawaja Murtaza 4,000/3,000 (I)
2.	" 4,000/4,000 (I)	" 5,000/4,000 (I)	" 8,000/8,000 (2-3h) (I)	" 4,000/3,000 (I) Amir Khan 3,000/2,000 (I)
3.	" 4,000/4,000 (I)	" 5,000/4,000 (I)	" 8,000/8,000 (2-3h) (I)	" 3,000/2,000 (I)

R.Y.	KASHMIR	KABUL	MULTAN	SIND
4.	4,000/4,000 " (I)	5,000/4,000 " (I) Saeed Khan 4,000/4,000 (1000x2-3h) (T)	8,000/8,000 " (2-3h) (I)	3,000/2,000 " (I)
5.	4,000/4,000 " (I) Khwaja Abul Hasan 6,000/6,000 (I)	4,000/4,000 " (2000x2-3h) (T)	8,000/8,000 " (T) (2-3h) Najabat Khan Qulij Khan 4,000/4,000 (T)	3,000/2,000 " (I)
6.	Zafar Khan 3,000/2,000 (I)	4,000/4,000 " (2000x2-3h) (T)	4,000/4,000 " (T)	3,000/2,000 " (I)
7.	3,000/2,000 " (I)	4,000/4,000 " (3000x2-3h) (T)	4,000/4,000 " (T)	Yusuf Mohd. Khan Tashqandi 3,000/2,000 (T)
8.	3,000/2,000 " (I)	6,000/4,000 " (3000x2-3h) (T)	4,000/4,000 " (T)	3,000/2,000 " Khwas Khan (Af)
9.	3,000/2,000 " (I)	5,000/5,000 " (3000x2-3h) (T)	4,000/4,000 " (T)	3,000/2,000 " (Af)
10.	3,000/2,000 " (I)	5,000/5,000 " (3000x2-3h) (T)	4,000/4,000 " (T)	3,000/2,000 " (Af)

R.Y.	KASHMIR	KABUL	MULTAN	SIND
11.	" 3,000/2,000 (I)	" 6,000/6,000 (2-3h) (T)	" 5,000/5,000 (2000x2-3h) (T)	" 3,000/2,000 (Af)
12.	Ali Mardan Khan 7,000/7,000 (I)	" 6,000/6,000 (2-3h) (T)	" 3,000/3,000 Yusuf Mohd. Khan (T) Najabat Khan 4,000/4,000 (T)	" 3,000/2,000 (Af)
13.	" 7,000/7,000 (3000x2-3h) (I)	" 6,000/6,000 (2-3h) (T)	" 4,000/4,000 (T)	" 3,000/2,000 Ghairat Khan 3,000/2,000 (T)
14.	" 7,000/7,000 (5000x2-3h) (I) Shah Quli Khan 3,000/2,000 (T)	Ali Mardan Khan 7,000/7,000 (5000-2h) (I)	Qulij Khan 5,000/5,000 (2000x2-3h) (T)	" 2,000/1,700 Shad Khan (T)
15.	Tarbiyat Khan 2,500/1,500 (T) Zafar Khan 3,000/2,000 (I)	" 7,000/7,000 (5000x2-3h) (I)	Saeed Khan Bahadur 5,000/5,000 (3000x2-3h) (T)	" 2,000/2,000 (T) Amir Khan 3,000/2,000 (I)
16.	" 3,000/2,000 (I)	" 7,000/7,000 (5000x2-3h) (I)	Murad Baksh 12,000/9,000 (2000x2-3h) (P)	" 3,000/2,000 (I)

R.Y.	KASHMIR	KABUL	MULTAN	SINO
17.	3,000/2,000 " (I)	7,000/7,000 " (5000x2-3h) (I)	12,000/9,000 " (3000x2-3h) (P)	3,000/2,000 " (I)
18.	3,000/2,000 " (I)	7,000/7,000 " (5000x2-3h) (I)	12,000/9,000 " (3000x2-3h) (P)	3,000/2,000 " (I)
19.	3,000/2,000 " (I)	7,000/7,000 " (5000x2-3h) (I)	12,000/9,000 " (3000x2-3h) (P)	3,000/2,000 " (I)
20.	3,000/2,000 " (I)	7,000/7,000 " (5000x2-3h) (I)	(T) Saeed Khan Bahadur 7,000/7,000 (5000x2-3h)	3,000/2,000 " (I)
21.	12,000/9,000 " (P) (2-3h) Murad Baksh Husain Beg Khan 1,500/1,000 (I)	7,000/7,000 " (5000x2-3h) (I)	Aurangzeb 15,000/12,000 (8000x2-3h) (P)	Nawab Mughal Khan (T) 3,000/2,000
22.	Husain Beg Khan (I)	7,000/7,000 " (5000x2-3h) (I)	5,000/5,000 (2-3h) Bahadur Khan Rohela (Ind.)	3,000/2,000 " (T)
23.	Ali Mardan Khan (I) 7,000/7,000 (5000x2-3h)	7,000/7,000 " (5000x2-3h) (I) Qulij Khan 5,000/5,000 (T) (4000x2-3h)	Aurangzeb 15,000/12,000 (10000x2-3h) (P)	Aurangzeb (P) 15,000/12,000 (10000x2-3h)

R.Y.	KASHMIR	KABUL	MULTAN	SIND
24.	„ 7,000/7,000 (5000x2-3h) (I)	Mahabat Khan 5,000/5,000 (I)	„ 20,000/15,000 (10000x2h) (P)	„ 15,000/12,000 (10000x2-3h) (P)
25.	„ 7,000/7,000 (5000x2-3h) (I)	„ 5,000/5,000 (I)	„ 20,000/15,000	„ 4,000/3,000 Sardar Khan (T)
26.	„ 7,000/7,000 (5000x2-3h) (I)	„ 30,000/20,000 (2-3h) Dara Shukoh Sulaiman Shukoh 8,000/4,000 (P)	Dara (P) 30,000/20,000 (2-3h)	ZafarKhan 3,000/2,000 (I)
27.	„ 7,000/7,000 (5000x2-3h) (I)	„ 10,000/6,000 (P)	„ 30,000/20,000 (2-3h) (P)	„ 3,000/2500 (I) 3,000/3,000
28.	„ (I) 7,000/7,000 (5000x2-3h)	„ 12,000/7,000 (P)	„ 30,000/20,000 (P) (2-3h)	„ 3,000/3,000 (I)
29.	„ (I) 7,000/7,000 (5000x2-3h)	„ (P) 12,000/8,000	40,000/20,000 (2-3h) Abdur Razzaq Gilani (Dy) (I)	8,000/2,000 (P) Siphar Shukoh; Mohd. Ali (Dy) 2,000/1,000 (I)
30.	„ 7,000/7,000 (5000x2-3h) (I)	12,000/8,000 Bahadur Khan (Dy) 3,000/2,000	„ 40,000/20,000 (2-3h) (I)	1,000/500 (P) Dy (d) Syed Ibrahim (Dy) 8,000/3,000 (Ind.)

R.Y.	KASHMIR	KABUL	MULTAN	SIND
31.	7,000/7,000 (I) (5000x2-3h) Lashkar Khan 2,500/2,000 (T)	Mahabat Khan 5,000/5,000 (I)	„ (P) 60,000/40,000 (30000x2-3h) (I)	8,000/3,000 (P) 1,000/500 (Ind.)

32.	„ 2,500/2,000 (T)	„ 5,000/5,000 (I)	1,000/400 Shaikh Musavi Gilani (I) 60,000/40,000 (30000x2-3h)	„ 1,000/500 (Ind.) 8,000/3,000 (P)
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R.Y.	AJMER	GUJARAT	MALWA	DECCAN
At Jahangir's death.		Safi Saif Khan	Muzaffar Khan	Khan-i-Jahan Lodi

1.	Mhaabat Khan 7,000/7,000 (I)	Sher Khan 5,000/5,000 (Af)	5,000/5,000 (I) Khan Zaman Khan Jahan Lodi (Af) 7,000/7,000 (2-3h)	Khan-i-Jahan Lodi (Af) 7,000/7,000 (2-3h) .. Mahabat Khan 7,000/7,000 (2-3h) (I)
2.	Mutaqad Khan 4,000/2,500 (T)	„ 5,000/5,000 (Af)	„ 7,000/7,000 (2-3h) (Af)	Iradat Khan alias Azam Khan 5,000/5,000 (I)
3.	„ 4,000/2500 (T)	„ 5,000/5,000 (Af)	Mutaqad Khan 4,000/2,500 (T)	„ 5,000/5,000 (I)
4.	Ikhlas Khan 2,000/1,000 (Ind.)	„ 5,000/5,000 (Af) Islam Khan 5,000/4,000 (I)	Mutaqad Khan 4,000/2,500 (T)	„ 6,000/6,000 (I)

R.Y.	AJMER	GUJARAT	MALWA	DECCAN
5.	Mirza Muzaffar Kirmani (I) 3,000/1,020	” 5,000/4,000 (2-3h) (I)	” 4000/2,500 (T) Nasiri Khan 4,000/4,000 (T)	” 6,000/6,000 (I) Mahabat Khan 7,000/7,000 (I) (2-3h)
6.	Raja Bethal Das (R) 3,000/2,000	Baqar Khan Najm Sani 4,000/4,000 (I)	” 5,000/5,000 (T)	” 7,000/7,000 (2-3h) (I)
7.	” 3,000/2,000 (R)	Sipahdar Khan 5,000/5,000 (I)	” 5,000/5,000 (3000x2-3h) (T)	” 7,000/7,000 (2-3h) (I)
8.	” 3,000/2,000 (R)	” (I) 5,000/5,000 Saif Khan 4,000/4,000 (I)	” (T) 4,000/4,000 Alahwardi Khan Khan Dauran 5,000/5,000 (T) (3000x23h)	” 7,000/7,000 (2-3h) (I)
9.	” 3,000/2,000 (R)	” 4,000/4,000 (I) Azam Khan 6,000/6,000 (I)	” 5,000/5,000 (3000x2-3h) (T)	Khan-i- Zaman 5,000/5,000 (4000x2-3h) (I)
10.	” 4,000/3,000 (R)	” 6,000/6,000 (I)	” 6,000/6,000 (T) (2-3h)	Aurangzeb 12,000/7,000 (P)
11.	” 4,000/3,000 (Ind.) Shah Ali 700/200 (Ind)	” 6,000/6,000 (I)	” 6,000/6,000 (2-3h) (T)	” 12,000/9,000 (P)

R.Y.	AJMER	GUJARAT	MALWA	DECCAN
12.	700/200 (Ind)	6,000/6,000 (I)	6,000/6,000 (T)	15,000/9,000 (P)
13.	700/200 (Ind.)	6,000/6,000 (I)	6,000/6,000 (T) (2-3H)	15,000/9,000 (6000x2-3h) (P)
14.	700/200 (Ind.)	6,000/6,000 (I)	6,000/6,000 (T) (2-3h)	15,000/9,000 (6000x2-3h) (P)
15.	700/200 (Ind.)	Mirza Isa Tarkhan Khan 5,000/5,000 (2500x2-3h) (T)	6,000/6,000 (2-3h) (T)	15,000/10,000 (6000x2-3h) 15,000/10,000 (P) (6000x2h)
16.	700/200 (Ind.)	5,000/5,000 (2500x2-3h) (T)	6,000/6,000 (2-3h) (T)	15,000/10,000 (6000x2-3h) (P)
17.	700/200 (Ind.)	5,000/5,000 (T) (2-3h)	6,000/6,000 (T) (2-3h) Sardar Khan 4,000/3,000 (T)	Khan--i Dauran 6,000/6,000 (2-3h) (T)
18.	700/200 (Ind.)	5,000/5,000 (T) (2-3h) Aurangzeb 15,000/10,000 (P) (6000x2h)	5,000/5,000 (4000x2h) (I)	7,000/7,000 (5000x2-3h) (T)
19.	700/200 (Ind.)	15,000/10,000 (7000x2-3h) (P)	5,000/5,000 (4000x2-3h) (I)	Islam Khan 6,000/6,000 (5000x2-3h) (I)

R.Y.	AJMEL	GUJARAT	MALWA	DECCAN
20.	„ 700/200 (Ind.)	Shaista Khan 5,000/5,000 (I) (2-3h)	Shah Nawaz Khan (I) 5,000/5,000	„ 7,000/7,000 (5000x2-3h) (I)
21.	„ 700/200 (Ind.)	„ 5,000/5,000 (2-3h) (I)	„ 5,000/5,000 (I)	„ 7,000/7,000 (I) Shah Nawaz Khan 5,000/5,000 (I)
22.	„ 700/200 Abu Said 2,000/800 (I)	Dara Shukoh 30,000/20,000 (P) (2-3h) Baqi Beg Ghairat Khan (Dy) 2,000/500	Shaista Khan 5,000/5,000 (2-3h) (I)	„ 5,000/5,000 (2000x2-3h) (I)
23.	„ 2,000/800 (I)	„ 2,000/1,000	Shah Nawaz Khan Safavi (I)	Shaista Khan 5,000/5,000 (I) (2-3h)
24.	„ 2,000/800 (I)	„ 3,000/1,500 (P)	„ 5,000/5,000 (2000x2-3h) (I)	„ 5,000/5,000 (2-3h) (I)
25.	„ 2,000/800 (I)	„ 3,000/1,500 (P)	„ 5,000/5,000 (2000x2-3h) (I)	„ 5,000/5,000 (2-3h) (I)
26.	Shah Ali 2,000/800 (Ind.)	Shaista Khan 5,000/5,000 (I) (2-3h)	Murad Bakhsh 12,000/10,000 (P) (2-3h)	Aurangzeb 20,000/15,000 (10,000x2-3h) (P)

R.Y.	AJMER	GUJARAT	MALWA	DECCAN
27.	Prithvi Singh Rathor 2,000/2,000 (R)	Murad Bak- hsh 15,000/10,000 (P) (2-3h)	Shaista Khan 5,000/5,000 (I) (2-3h)	„ 20,000/15,000 (10000x2-3h) (P)
28.	Bahadur Kambu 500/400 (Ind.)	„ 15,000/10,000 (P) (2-3h)	„ 15,000/5,000 (I) (2-3h)	„ 20,000/15,000 (10000x2-3h) (P)
29.	„ 500/400 (Ind.)	„ 15,000/10,000 (P) (2-3h)	„ 5,000/5,000 (I) (2-3h)	„ 20,000/15,00 (P) (10000x2-3h)
30.	Bahadur Kambu 500/400 (Ind.)	„ 15,000/12,000 (8000x2-3h) (P)	„ 6,000/6,000 (5000x2-3h) (I)	„ 20,000/15,000 (2-3h) (P)
31.	Mir Jafar Astrabadi 2,000/1,000 (I) Waris	„ 15,000/12,000 (8000x2-3h) (P)	„ 6,000/6,000 (5000x2-3h) (I)	„ 20,000/15,000 (2-3h) (P)
32.		„ 15,000/12,000 (8000x2-3h) (P)	„ 6,000/6,000 (5000x2-3h) (I)	„ 20,000/15,000 (2-3h) (P)

REFERENCES TO TABLE II

BENGAL

- Years 1—20 Lahori; B.N., 125, 266, 409, 444, 83, 274, 74, 117, 130, 164, 340, 398, 583.
 21—30 Waris, B.N., 31, 179, 189, 265, 317.
 31—32 *Amal-i Salih*, III, 278-79.

ORISSA

- Years 1—19 Lahori, B. N., 125, 332, 373, 430, 431, 216, 4, 182, 283, 473.
 20—29 Waris, B.N., 63, 154, 238 319.
 30—32 *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, I, 493-98.

BIHAR

- Years 1—20 Lahori, B.N., 125, 228, 426, 74, 208, 272, 101, 136, 248, 307, 357, 408, 583, 605.
 21—24 Waris B.N., 12, *Ma asir -ul-Umara*, II, 429-37
 25—30 Waris, B.N., 189, 249, 347-48.
 31—32 *Amal-i Salih*, III, 247, 278.

ILAHABAD

- Years 1—20 Lahori, B.N., 126, 186, 355, 396 426, 536, 102, 274, 162 201 307, 375, 378, 424, 612; *Ma' asir-ul Umara* Vol. I, 174-80.
 21—32 Waris, B.N., 157, 159, 182, 349; *Ma' asir-u Umara*, Vol. II, 457.

AWADH

- Years 21—23 Waris, B.N. 64, 133, 197.
 Lahari, B N., 182, 283, M. U. II, 670.
 31—32 *Amal-i Salih*, III, 271; *Ma' asir-ul Umara*, I, 493.

AGRA

- Years 1—16 Lahori, B.N., 243, 291, 369, 427, 478, 5, 76, 105, 234, 20, 130, 215, 241; *Ma' asir-ul Umara*, II, 250.
 18—19 Lahori, B.N., 407; *Ma' asir-ul Umra*, I, 220-21.

DELHI

- Years
- 1—20 Lahori, B.N., 126, 255, 352, 376, 424, 440, 472, 6, 72, 76, 87, 280, 111, 115, 158, 181, 215, 244, 314, 361, 408, 425, 504; Waris, B.N. 27.
- 21—26 Waris, B.N. 27, 129, 352, 357, 197.
- 31—32 *Amal-i Salih*, III, 266.

LAHORE

- Years
- 1—20 Lahori, B.N., 125, 425, 10, 62, 207, 29, 122, 158, 163, 236, 317, 356, 413, 500, 608, 611.
- 21—32 Waris, B.N., 356; *Amal-i Salih*, III, 266.

KASHMIR

- Years
- 1—20 Lahori, B.N., 125, 432, 474, 17, 281, 125, 162, 212, 223, 225, 283, 309, 419, 469, 15.
- 21—32 Waris, B.N., 6, 36, 62, 131, 144, 209, 278, 292, 327; *Tarikh-i Kashmir* (folios unmarked); *Amal-i Salih*, III, 264-74; *Masir-ul Umara*, III, 168

KABUL

- Years
- 1—20 Lahori, B.N., 129, 260, 400, 440, 450, 11, 67, 3, 206, 222, 284, 320, 401, 457, Waris, B.N. 60.
- 21—32 Waris, B.N. 60, 98, 111, 125, 158, 188, 221, 356; *Ma' asir-ul Umara*, III, 590; *Amal-i Salih*, III, 272.

MULTAN

- Years
- 1—20 Lahori, B.N., 125, 372, 421, 428, 33, 128, 155, 187, 234, 284, 307, 375, 398, 471, 577.
- 21—32 Waris, B.N., 37, 65, 130, 161, 180, 188, 316, 357; *Amal-i Salih*, III, 267.

SIND

- Years
- 1—6 Lahori, B.N., 181, 200, 287, 424; *Mazhar-i Shah Jahani*, 62-64, 91-92.
- 7—20 Lahori, B.N., 101, 207, 187, 198, 225, 244, 303, 641.
- 21—22 *History of Sind*, II, 128; *Tuhafat-ul Karam*, III, 96; *Ma' asir-ul Umara*, 623.
- 23—30 Waris, B.N., 130, 161, 198, 215, 306, 316, 356, 372.
- 31—32 *Amal-i Salih*, III, 321.

AJMER

- Years
- 1—20 Lahori, B.N. 253, 362, 372, 476, 9; Waris, B.N. 96; M.U., III, 385—409.
- 21—32 Waris, B.N. 96, 208, 280; *Amal-i Salih* III, 247;

GUJARAT

- Years 1—20 Lahori, B.N. 125, 256, 301, 363, 369, 395, 421, 450, 8, 85,
102, 166, 281, 217 230, 290, 352, 386, 411, 510, 583
- 21—32 Waris B.N. 27, 62, 133, 147, 188, 253, 360; *Amal-i Salih*
III 280.

MALWA

- Years 1—20 Lahori B.N. 126, 158, 199, 255, 362, 425, 449, 534, 37, 63,
97, 11, 296, 370, 378, 425, 583.
- 21—24 Waris B N. 17, 27, 62, 126, 156.
25 *Ma' asir-ul Umara*, II, 670-76.
- 26—32 Waris, B N. 253, 292, 335; *Amal-i Salih*, III, 285.

DECCAN

- Years 1—20 Lahori, B.N. 125 199, 257, 293, 423, 68, 135, 264, 180, 284,
376, 389, 427, 430, 679.
- 21—32 Waris, B N. 16, 126, 188, 283, 321, 335; *Amal-i Salih*, III,
267, 285.

APPENDIX

BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS OF GOVERNORS IN TABLE II REFERENCES

Abdullah Khan Feroz Jang. Lahauri, B N. (a) Vol. I, 426; (b) 74, 208, 272, Vol. II, 101, 307; M.U. II 777.

Azam Khan, Iradat Khan. Lahauri, B N. (a) Vol. I, 444; (b) 83, 102, 105, 166; Vol. II 605, M.U.I, 174.

Abdur Razzaq Gilani. Waris, 316, 357; *Amal-i Salih*, III, 267.

Amir Khan. Lahauri, B.N. (a) Vol. I, 287, 424; Vol. II, 303, 641; *Mazhar-ishah Jahani*, 62-64, 91; M.U. I, 172.

Abu Saeed. Waris, 96, 208; I.O.262b.

Alah Quli Khan. Waris, 189.

Alahwardi Khan. Lahauri, B.N. Vol. I (b) 63; Vol. II, 158, 181, 215; M.U. I, 207

Ali Mardan Khan. Lahauri, B.N., Vol. II, 125, 162, 163, 212, 222, 284, 320, 401; M.U. II 795; Waris, 131, 144, 209, 278, 292, 327; *Amal-i Salih*, III, 246.

Asalat Khan. Lahauri, B N.I, (b) 87, 280; M.U.I, 167.

Asaf Khan. Lahauri, B.N. Vol. I, (a) 125, 372, 425; M.U.I, 151.

Aurangzeb. Lahauri, B.N. Vol. I, (b) 264; Vol. II, 180, 284, 376, 411; Waris, 37, 130, 188, 283.

Baqar Khan Najm-i Sani. Lahauri, I (a) 125, 332, 373, 430, 450; Vol. II, 72; M.U.I, 408.

Bahadur Khan, Ghairat Khan Baqi Beg. Lahauri, II, 424, 612; Waris, 133, 157, 356, M.U.I, 444; *'Amal-i Salih*, III, 287.

Bahadur Khan Rohela. Waris, 65; M.U.I, 415.

Bahadur Kambu. Waris, 280; *Amal-i Salih*, III, 247.

Bethal Das. Lahauri, I(a) 476; (b) 9; Vol. II, 96, 241; M.U. II 250.

Husain Beg Khan. Waris, 36; Kaul, *Tarikh-i Kashmir* (folios unmarked).

Islam Khan Mashhadi. Lahauri, Vol. I (a) 291, 369; M.U. I, 162.

Itiqad Khan. Lahauri, Vol. I (a), 125, 432, 472; Vol. II, 6; M.U. I, 180, Waris, 64.

Izzat Khan. *Amal-i Salih*, III, 266. Waris, I.O. 261b.

Ikhlas Khan. Lahauri, I (a) 372; M.U. I, 198.

Jan Beg. Waris, 63, 154.

Jafar Khan. Lahauri, II, 500, 608; M.U.I, 531; Waris, 129, 245, 249, 348.

Jan Sipar Khan. Lahauri, Vol. I () 126, 185; M.U.I, 516.

Khan-i Alam. Lahauri, Vol. I (a) 125; M.U.I, 732.

Khalilullah Khan. Waris, 352, 357; M.U.I, 775; *Amal-i Salih*, III, 266.

Khwaja Baqi Khan alias Sher Khwaja. Lahauri, Vol. I (a) 181; M.U. II, 648.

Khawas Khan. Lahauri, Vol. I (b) 101, 207; Vol. II, 187; *Zakhirat-al Khawanin*, 112a.

Khan-i Jahan Lodi. Lahauri, Vol. I (a) 125, 199, 255; M.U. I, 716.

Khwaja Abul Hasan. Lahauri, Vol. I (a), 432; M.U. I, 737.

Khan-i Deuran Nasiri Khan. Lahauri, I (a) 63, 97, Vol. II, 11, 296, 370, 376, 389, 427.

Khawaja Muin. Waris, 356.

Khan-i Zamn. Lahauri, Vol. I (a) 126, 158, (b) 63, 135, 264, M.U. I, 740.

Lashkar Khan. Lahauri, Vol. I(a) 120, 260, 400, 440, M.U. III, 163.

Mutaqad Khan. Lahauri, Vol. I(a) 253, 362, 372, 425, (b) 216, Vol. II, 4, 182, 473; M.U. III, 482.

Muhammad Zaman Tehrani. Lahauri, II, 285, 473.

Muhammad Hayat. Waris, 154, 238.

Mirza Khan. Waris, 64.

Mahabat Khan. Lahauri, I (a) 199, 255, 352, 376, 424, (b) 68, M U. III, 385.

Mutamad Khan. Lahauri, Vol. II, 128, M.U. III, 431.

Mahabat Khan II. Waris, 158, M.U. III, 590.

Murtaza Khan. Lahauri, Vol. I (a) 200, 287, M.U. III, 479.

Muhammad Ali. Waris, 316, 356, M.U. I, 490.

Mirza Muzaffar Kirmani. Lahauri, Vol. I (a) 476.

Mirza Isa Tarkhan. Lahauri, II, 290, 352, 386, M.U. III, 485.

Mir Jafar Astrabadi. Waris, 332, *Amal-i Salih*, III, 247.

Makarmat Khan. Lahauri, II, 244, 319, 361, 408, 425, 504; Waris, 27, 129, M.U. III, 460.

- Najabat Khan. Lahauri, II, 155, 187, M.U. III, 821.
- Nawab Mughal Khan. *Tuhfat-ul Karam*, III, 96, Waris, 128; M.U. III 623.
- Qasim Khan Juwaini. Lahauri, Vol. I (a) 125, 226, 409, 444 M.U. III 78.
- Qasim Khan. *Amal-i Salih*, III, 247, M.U. III 95.
- Qulij Khan. Lahauri, Vol. I (a) 126, 255 396, 426, Vol. II, 356, 413; M.U. III, 92.
- Siyadat Khan. Lahauri, II, 164, 340; M.U. II, 463.
- Shah Nawaz Khan. Lahauri, II, 182, 283; M.U. II, 670.
- Samsamud Daula. Waris 275.
- Saif Khan. Lahauri. Vol. I (a) 228, 426, (b) 102 166; M.U. II, 416.
- Shaista Khan. Lahauri, II, 136, 248, 307, 425, 583; Waris 62, 188; M.U. II 690.
- Saeed Khan Bahadur Zafar Jang. Lahauri Vol. I (a) 400, 440, 450; (b) 11, 67; Vol. II 3, 206; M.U. II 429.
- Syed Shujaat Khan. Lahauri, I(a) 274; Vol. II, 162, 201, 307; M.U. II, 423.
- Syed Salabat Khan. Waris, 159, 182, 349; M.U. II, 457.
- Safdar Khan. Lahauri, Vol. I, (a) 369, 427, 478; Vol. II, 130, 215, M.U. II, 737.
- Syed Khan-i Jahan. Lahauri, I (b) 5, 76; M.U. I, 762.
- Shaikh Farid. Lahauri, II, 407, M.U. I, 220-21.
- Shah Quli Khan. Lahauri, 223 M.U. II, 658.
- Shaikh Musa Gilani. *Amal-i Salih*. III 267.
- Shad Khan. Lahauri II, 225, 244; *Zakhirat-ul Khawanin*, 103a.
- Sardar Khan. Lahauri, II, 378; *Zakhirat-ul Khawanin*, 109a.
- Shah Ali. Lahauri, II, 9; Waris, 96, 208, 280.
- Sher Khan Afghan. Lahauri, Vol. I(a) 125, 256, 301, 369; M U. II 651 .
- Sipahdar Khan. Lahauri, Vol. I (b) 8, 85; M U. II, 427.
- Syed Ibrahim. Waris, 356, 372; *Amal-i Salih*, III, 321.
- Tarbiyat Khan. *Amal-i Salih*, III, 271; M.U. I, 493-98.
- Wazir Khan. Lahauri, I (a) 243; Vol. II 215; M.U. II, 933.
- Yusuf Muhammad Khan Tashqandi. Lahauri, I (b) 101 298.
- Zafar Khan. Lahauri, II 283, 309, 419, 469; Waris, 15.
- Zulfiqar Khan. Waris, 347-48; M U. II, 85.

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DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN THE RULERS OF DELHI AND GUJARAT DURING THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

The period intervening Timur's invasion of India in 1398 and the establishment of the Lodi (Afghan) Rule in Delhi in 1451 A.D. witnessed the rise and fall of different regional kingdoms and principalities in the north. As a result of continued struggle among these kingdoms for political supremacy, some of the dynasties were either weakened or wiped out. But the Sultanates of Delhi under the Lodis and Gujarat under the descendants of Zafar Khan emerged as the most important powers in the politics of north India towards the close of the 15th century. The important political developments that took place in the beginning of the 16th century brought the Sultans of Delhi and Gujarat diplomatically close to each other. The gifts were exchanged through the envoys and an understanding was effected. The reason for the establishment of diplomatic ties between the two Sultanates was the weakening of the Malwa Kingdom and the rise of Rajput princes under the leadership of the house of Mewar. The present paper seeks to discuss the diplomatic relations between the Courts of Delhi and Gujarat as well as the role, played by the Indo-Afghan nobles in Gujarat after the fall of the Lodi dynasty in 1526.

For a proper understanding of the historical significance of friendly relations between the Courts of Delhi and Gujarat, we have to discuss the prestige and theoretical position of the Delhi sovereign as Sultan Sikandar Lodi had taken initiative in this regard. The city of Delhi that was not only the seat of the grand Muslim power in the 13th and the 14th centuries under the Sultans who had established a reputation of invincibility for their arms but also the Centre of the Greatest Indian Sufi Saints, scholars, Poets and '*Ulama*. Indeed, its glory caught the imagination of the World during its heyday. As a result, the Sultan of Delhi Commanded immense respect even when his power was considerably reduced.

The provincial sultans, some of whom had surpassed the Sultan of Delhi in resources and grandeur were the rebels in the eyes of the latter. At a time when politics was regionalised and Delhi was held by a weakling, Sultan Muhammad Shah Saiyid (1433-1443), the rulers outside India considered him the greatest of the Indian Kings. The letters of Shah Rukh,

he famous Timurid prince, from Herat to the Sultans of Delhi, Jaunpur and Bengal, contained in the *Faraid-i-Ghiyasi*¹, shed interesting light on the social prestige and position of the Delhi Sultan. In certain letters Sultan Mahmud of Bengal seems to have requested Shah Rukh to intervene between him and Sultan Ibrahim Shah (Sharqi) of Jaunpur who was threatening Bengal. In response to the request, Shah Rukh despatched letters to the Sultans of Delhi, Jaunpur and Bengal respectively through his envoys advising them to settle their differences peacefully. In a common letter, despatched to all the three Sultans, Sultan Muhammad Shah (Saiyid) has been mentioned as *Sultan-in-Azam* (the greatest Sultan) while the others are addressed simply as Sultans.²

An Indian Writer, Shaikh Rizqullah Mushtaqi who flourished during the times of the Lodi and the Sur Kings incorporates a *Parwana* of a provincial Governor to Sher Khan Sur in 1537 which also sheds light on the theoretical position of the Sultan of Delhi. The Governor is reported to have written to Sher Khan Sur with regard to his aggression against Bengal without seeking permission from Emperor Humayun that one who occupied the throne of Delhi was the lord of the whole Subcontinent. "It does not matter whether one rules over this or that part. The ruler of Delhi has his claim to every part in Hindustan".³

It is also noteworthy that with the advent of Sultan Sikandar Lodi to the throne, the balance of power was tilted in favour of the Delhi Sultanate, atleast in north India, for it was nearly doubled in area. Vast territories in the east (including Bihar and Tirhut), Rajputana and north Western region of India were incorporated in the Sultanate. The neighbouring powers of Bengal and Malwa had started staggering during this period. But the maritime Sultanate of Gujarat still continued its expansion and could rival the Lodi Sultan. The latter also seems to have feared the resourcefulness of the Sultan of Gujarat. He is reported to have praised the number of the sea

1. The work *Fara'id-i-Ghiyasi* is an important collection of Persian epistles, compiled by Jalal Uddin Yusuf Ahal Jami. It contains more than eight hundred letters and royal documents, written by two hundred important persons from the 8th Century to the middle of the 15th Century. The Compiler, Jalaluddin Yusuf Ahal Jami dedicated it to Shah Ruksh's Wazir, Ghiyas uddin Pir Ahmad in 1433 A.D., hence its title *Faraid-i-Ghiyasi*.

Fara'id-i-Ghiyasi and Hindustan, Prof. Nazir Ahmad, *Fikr-o-Nzar*, Quarterly (Urdu), Aligarh, October, 1965 PP. 89-90.

2. *Ibid*, P. 112

3. *Waqi'at-i-Mushtaqi*.

Also *History of Sher Shah Sur*, Iqtidar H. Siddiqi Aligarh, 1971.

ports in Gujarat in these words: "the dependence of the Kingdom of Delhi was on wheat and *Jawar* and that the greatness of the income of the Sultanate of Gujarat which had eighty four ports under its sway, was due to its revenue from corals and pearls"⁴. Indeed, some of the Ports of Gujarat were the centre of brisk trade and the greater part of the Indian trade with Arabia, Persia and Red sea passed through them.

But neither the military power nor the wealth of Gujarat forced Sultan Sikandar Lodi to establish friendly relations with its Sultan. It was really his ambition to annex the territories of Malwa, a buffer State between the Lodi Empire and the Sultanate of Gujarat. As Sikandar Lodi's occupation of the territories belonging to Malwa could arouse the Sultan of Gujarat to intervene, the former liked to keep him neutral through friendship and diplomacy.

The first visit of the Delhi envoys to the Gujarat Court seems to have taken place after the military conquests of the forts of Narwar and Hatkant on the border of Malwa in 1507-8. According to Shamsuddin, the author of '*zamima-i-Ma'asir-i-Mahmud Shahi*', the date of the first visit of the Delhi envoys to the court of Sultan Mahmud Begarha is the month of *safar* 914 A.H. (June 1508). The contemporary author says that the embassy from Sultan Sikandar Lodi came to Sultan Mahmud with a pair of rhinoceros, thirty horses and other precious commodities. In return Sultan Mahmud conferred a costly *Khil'at* (robe) on the envoy and sent parrots, herons, and Arabian horses as presents to the Lodi Sultan.⁵

Both Nizam Uddin and Firishta state that the embassy from Delhi arrived at the court of Sultan Mahmud Begarha for strengthening the

4. *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, Eng. tr. Fazlullah Faridi, P. 190; Persian Text, edited by S.C. Misra, Baroda, 19 P.

5. *Zamima-i-Mahmud Shahi*, Shamsuddin, Common wealth Relations Office, no. 3841, ff. 37a-b.

According to Nizamuddin the Lodi envoy visited the Gujarat Court in 916 A.H. (1510). He says:

و همدین سال سلطان سکندر لودی از روی خصوصیت و اخلاص
پاره تحف و سوغات بخدمت سلطان فرستاد و قبل ازین هرگز بادشاهی
دهلی و ببادشاه گجرات تحفه نفرستاده بود -

In the same year sultan Sikandar Lodi sent gifts out of love and regard to the sultan (Mahmud Begarha). Before it no king of Delhi had ever sent gifts to the king of Gujarat.

bonds of friendship between the two Sultans. But the real purpose for establishing friendly relations was to prevent the Sultan of Gujarat from assisting the ruler of Malwa against the Lodi encroachment on his territories. The events of the subsequent period show that the Lodi Sultan succeeded in his aim because the Sultan of Gujarat seems to have followed a policy of neutrality with regard to the conflict between the Rulers of Malwa and Delhi. The visit of the envoy of Delhi to the Gujarat court was, however, a matter of rejoicing for Gujarat. Because it was for the first time that presents were sent from Delhi to Gujarat. Though Mr. Commissariat did not have access to Shamsuddin's *Zamima-i-Ma'asir-i-Mahmud Shahi*, he rightly observes on the authority of the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*: "It must have been a matter of no small gratification to him when, in 1510, a little before his death, the Delhi sovereign sent him some presents in token of his friendship and as an acknowledgement of the independent status of the Gujarat ruler"⁶.

The exchange of presents between the Courts of Delhi and Gujarat was soon followed by the expansion of the Lodi rule in Malwa region. In 1509, the *Muqta* of Nagaur transferred his allegiance from Sultan Nasir Shah (1500-1510) to Sultan Sikandar Lodi as the former was much weakened by internal rebellions and could not be expected to save his border Governors from external dangers.

The second embassy from Delhi to Gujarat seems to have arrived during the reign of Sultan Muzaffar Shah II, some time after 1512. No medieval writer provides any information about its date or purpose. Only Shaikh Rizqullah Mushtaqi incidentally refers to it in his account of the Sultans of Malwa. Mushtaqi's reference suggests that soon after the death of Nasir Shah in 1511, civil war broke out in Malwa and the old officers dispersed in different directions.⁷ Prince Shihabuddin, son of Nasir Shah invoked the help of Sultan Sikandar Lodi who responded favourably but also demanded the territory of Chanderi in return of his help. Though the Prince does not seem to have arrived at any agreement with the Delhi sovereign, many of his supporters turned to Delhi for refuge. With their help, the Lodi Sultan was able to make the Malwa officers of Chanderi transfer their allegiance to him peacefully in 1513.⁸ Since the rapid expansion of the Lodi rule in Malwa could arouse anxiety in the mind of the new Sultan of Gujarat, Muzaffar Shah II, Sultan Sikandar Lodi sent another embassy to

6. *A History of Gujarat*, M.S. Commissariat, Vol. I 1938, P. 207.

7. *Waqi'at-i-Mushtaqi*, f. 80 a.

8. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, vol. I,

his Court to renew the friendly relations that had been established during Sultan Mahamud Begarha's reign. The inclusion of Malikul Hukma, a celebrated scholar who was attached to the Malwa Court and had recently joined the service of the Lodi King also shows that the latter wanted to acquaint Muzaffar Shah of Gujarat with the Political situation, prevailing in Malwa, so that his occupation of the Chanderi territory through the help of the Malwa nobles might be justified. The *Malik-ul Hukma* highly impressed Sultan Muzaffar Shah by his piety and knowledge and also assured him of the love and sincerity of the Delhi sovereign towards him.⁹

However, Sultan Muzaffar Shah II adopted a policy of neutrality and respect towards Sultan Sikandar Lodi. Though he helped Sultan Mahmud Khalji (son of Nasir Shah) of Malwa against his Rajput adversaries, who had designs upon his throne, he never interfered with the expansion of the Delhi rule in that direction. It is said that as he received the news of the death of Sultan Sikandar Lodi in 1517, he at once called the '*ulama*' and saints, attached to his Court and offered *Fatiha* (prayers) along with them for the departed soul.¹⁰

With the accession of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi to the throne, the friendly relations between Delhi and Gujarat became a bit cold. Sultan Ibrahim Lodi was faced with a political crisis, caused first by the Civil war between him and his younger brother, Prince Jalal Khan and then wide-spread rebellions of the high nobles. As a result, he could not have time to follow his father's policy in respect of friendship with the Sultan of Gujarat. Nevertheless, Sultan Muzaffar Shah II did not seem to have changed his policy of friendship and neutrality towards Delhi. The departure of Prince Alam Khan,¹¹ (son of Sultan Bahlul Lodi) who was a refugee in Gujarat since the time of Sultan Mahmud Begarha and was now called by the rebels of the Punjab to fight against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi substantiates this fact. Sultan Muzaffar Shah did not lend any military help to Alam Khan Lodi at his departure to Lahore as it could embitter his relations with the Delhi Court. The author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* states: "In the year (1523) Alam Khan

9. *Waqi'at-i-Mushtaqi*, ff. 80 a-b.

It is to be noted that the Malwa nobles who had sought refuge at the Delhi Court were installed in Chanderi and other areas that formerly belonged to the Malwa Kingdom.

10. *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, PP. 184—5

11. Prince 'Alam Kan Lodi held the *iqta'* of Rapri during the reign of Bahlul. On his father's death, he opposed Sultan Sikandar Lodi and was replaced by Khan Khanan Nuhani in consequence. Later on Sikandar Lodi pardoned him and also assigned the territory of Etawah to his Charge. From Etawah he fled away to Gujarat.

son of Sultan Bahlul who had joined the service during the reign of Sultan Mahmud Shah, requested the Sultan (Muzaffar Shah): My brother's son, Sultan Ibrahim has killed some of the high nobles and antagonised the army. Many of the nobles are annoyed with Sultan Ibrahim for this reason. They have extended invitation to me. If your Majesty allows me, I shall proceed to Delhi. The Sultan granted him permission (to depart) and also gave him presents. Alam Khan entered the country of Delhi and assumed the title of Sultan 'Ala Uddin. He fought against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi but could not gain success. Then he fled to Zain u'ddin Babur Badshah in Kabul.¹²".

The above passage makes it crystal clear that Sultan Muzaffar Shah neither prevented Alam Khan Lodi from proceeding to Delhi nor gave him any military help. But the later writer, Haji'ud Dabir States perhaps on the basis of hearsay that Muzaffar Shah gave Alam Khan Lodi a standard, a drum, 40,000 Muzaffaris (Coins) and sent him with a strong detachment to secure his ancestral throne.¹³ But he is neither corroborated by Sikandar nor by Babur or any other early writer. Infact, Sultan Muzaffar Shah does not seem to have liked his direct involvement in the Politics of the Delhi Sultanate. That is why Prince 'Alam Khan Lodi turned to Babur in Kabul for military help after his defeat by Sultan Ibrahim Lodi because any support from Gujarat was not expected.

The occupation of the *Sarkar* of Nagaur by the Raja of Marwar at the same time may also be discussed here. Nagaur was a part of the Lodi

12. The passage runs as fallows:

”درین اثناء عالم خان بن سلطان بهلول که در عهد سلطان محمود شاه ملازمت نموده بود بعرض رساند که برادرزاده من سلطان ابراهیم بعضی امراء کلان را کشته و سپاه را از خود ناراض ساخته - از انجهت اکثر امراء سلطان ابراهیم متنفر شده مرا طلبیده اند - اگر بادشاه رخصت کنند متوجه دهلی شوم - سلطان سامان نموده رخصت فرمود - عالم خان در بلاد دهلی رفت - و خود را سلطان علاء الدین لقب کرد - و با سلطان ابراهیم مقابله نمود آخر کاری نتوانست ساخت رو بفرار آورده پیش ظهیرالدین بابر بادشاه در کابل رفت

Mirat-i-Sikandari PP. 203-4.

13. Haji'ud Dabir as quoted by Mr. S.A.. Tirmizi, *Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. V, Delhi, 1969.

Empire and it had strategic importance for Gujarat also as its Sultans had tried to Control it in the past. Sometime, in 1525, the Raja of Marwar treacherously occupied it and Sultan Ibrahim Lodi could not take any step for its recovery because of the wide spread rebellions in his Sultanate.¹⁴ Though Nagaur's annexation to Marwar, a hostile principality along the border of Gujarat might have caused anxiety to Sultan Muzaffar Shah, yet the latter did not try to wrest it because it belonged to the Lodi Empire; only Sultan Ibrahim Lodi could be expected to take any step in this respect. Inshort, Sultan Muzaffar Shah did not do anything apparently that could spoil the relations between him and the Sultan of Delhi.

We may now discuss the arrival of Prince Bahadur Khan, son of Sultan Muzaffar Shah from Gujarat to the Lodi Court in 1524. The regard and consideration shown by Sultan Ibrahim Lodi to the refugee Prince¹⁵ shows that no love was lost between the two houses.

Sultan Ibrahim Lodi took Prince Bahadur Khan along with him to Panipat where he went to fight against Babur. Bahadur Khan is reported to have participated in the battle of Panipat in 1526. On the fall of the Lodi Sultan he decided to join the Mughal Conqueror as he was in need of a new patron. He wrote to Babur who was also pleased to favour him. But, in the meantime the Afghan nobles who served under Lad Khan Lodi Sarang Khani, the Governor of Jaunpur invited Bahadur Khan through Painda Khan Afghan to Jaunpur. Since Lad Khan Lodi Sarang Khani was Killed along with Ibrahim Lodi, the nobles of Jaunpur wanted Bahadur Khan to be their King and lead them against the Mughals. At first the Prince was willing to proceed to Jaunpur but he was urgently called to Gujarat soon afterwards, for his brother Sikandar Shah was murdered and the throne was vacant. Bahadur Shah reached Gujarat safely and ascended his ancestral throne with the title of Sultan Bahadur Shah.¹⁶

14. *Waqi'at-i-Mushtaqi*.

15. *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, P. 238.

The reason for Prince Bahadur Khan's flight to Delhi was that Sultan Muzaffar Shah appointed Prince Sikandar Khan his other son as his successor. As relations between Sikandar Khan and Bahadur Khan were not cordial, the latter had his safety in flight from Gujarat.

16. *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, P. 251.

The author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* seems to be wrong in his statement that Bahadur Khan deserted Sultan Ibrahim Lodi before the battle of Panipat because Sultan Ibrahim Lodi had become somewhat cold towards him. He also says that the nobles of Jaunpur wanted Bahadur Khan to be their King in the life-time of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. But an earlier authority on Gujarat says that the Prince remained with the Lodi Sultan to the last

With Sultan Bahadur Shah a new chapter opened in the history of Gujarats' relations with the Afghans of north India. Sultan Bahadur Shah, who had a first hand knowledge of the political conditions of north India after the fall of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, decided to take advantage of the hatred and opposition of the Indians towards the Mughals. The atrocities committed by the Mughal conquerors revived the bitter memory of the massacre and destruction by Timur. The cities and towns from Lahore to Delhi were plundered; people who survived fled away for refuge, leaving their hearths and property behind. Even the 'Ulama and saints were not spared by the followers of Babur.¹⁷ The Indo Afghan nobles who held vast territories in the east (modern Eastern U.P. and Bihar) decided to fight against the Mughals to the last. They continued to fight till 1531 when Bayazid Farmuli, the most resourceful anti-Mughal leader was slain in the battle of Lucknow and Sultan Mahmud Lodi had retired from active politics as a result of the defeat.¹⁸ Therefore, most of Sultan Mahmud Lodis' supporters, Afghan as well as non-Afghan turned to Gujarat for asylum.

By the same year, 1531, the supremacy of Sultan Bahadur Shah was well established in the Deccan. The rulers of Khandesh and Ahmadnagar had become his vassals while the whole of Malwa was annexed to Gujarat. He was now in a position to turn his attention to the subjugation of the Raja of Mewar before his war with the Mughals. Sultan Bahadur Shah seems to have expected an easy conquest of north India with the help of the Indo-Afghan nobles who commanded influence and respect there. Therefore, he encouraged them to join his service by showering high favours.

The first Afghan immigrants who joined Bahadur Shah in Gujarat even before 1531 and seem to have helped him in his military campaigns were Prince Tartar Khan, son of Alam Khan Lodi, son of Sultan Bahlul, and his followers. According to Abul Fazl, Tatar Khan was alongwith his father in

and went back to Gujarat after the debacle of Panipat. According to it the nobles of Jaunpur contacted him when Sultan Ibrahim Lodi was no more.

Tarikh-i-Salat-in Gujarat, edited by Mr. A.A., Tirmizi, *Medieval India*, Quarterly, Aligarh, 1963, P. 60.

Tarikh ii Salatin nGujarat, edited by Mr. A.A., Tirmizi, *Medieval India*, Quarterly, Aligarh, 1963, P. 60.

Also *History of Sher Shah Sur*, I.H. Siddiqi, Aligarh 1971, PP for Lad Khan Lodi Sarang Khani.

17. *Lataf i Quddusi*, P. 63.

Waqi'at-i-Mushtaqi f. 56 b.

18. *History of Sher Shah Sur* PP. 35-37.

the service of Babur. But he fled away to Gujarat after the battle of Khanwa was over (1527). Sultan Bahadur treated him with kindness and also took him in his service. Later on Alam Khan Lodi also reached Gujarat as a refugee. Abul Fazl states at the same place that on Tatar Khan's flight, Babur sent Alam Khan Lodi to Badakhshan as a prisoner. "Soon afterwards Alam Khan succeeded in making good his escape from the fort of Zafarabad (Badakhshan) with the help of the Afghan merchants and reached Afghanistan (modern north—Western frontier province of Pakistan). From (Afghanistan), he went to Biluchistan and finally reached Gujarat.¹⁹

Like the aforesaid Afghan Princes, some of the non-Afghan nobles who had lost their prominent positions after the Mughal victory also fled to Gujarat. Here, mention may be made of Rai Nar Singh, the nephew of Raja Bikramajit of Gwalior whom Sultan Ibrahim Lodi had assigned the territory of Shamsabad in maintenance-*iqta* after the annexation of Gwalior to the Lodi Empire in 1517-18. Raja Bikramajit was killed in the battle of Panipat in 1526 and his dependants were not taken in the royal service by Babur. In 1528 Nar Sing joined the court of Gujarat along with his Rajput followers. He was given a maintenace-*iqta*.²⁰

Two years after Rai Nar Singh, Fath Khan, Qutb Khan and Umar Khan Lodi sought asylum in Gujarat in 1530. The Sultan showered high favours upon them because they were the leading nobles of the Lodi Sultans. They were given three hundred special robes of *Zarbaft* (a costly silken cloth, woven with gold and silver threads), fifty five horses and a few lac *tankas* on the very first day of their arrival.²¹

The other important Afghan grandee who also belonged to the royal Lodi house and joined the service of Sultan Bahadur Shah along with his army just after Babur's death was Alam Khan Lodi, son of Jalai Khan Jighat, cousin of Sultan Bahlul Lodi. Alam Khan Lodi held the *vilayet* of Kalpi and enjoyed the confidence of Emperor Babur. The author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* provides the following details about 'Alan Khan Lodi's coming to Gujarat and his employment by Sultan Bahadur Shah. "However, on the conquest of Raisin, the entire region that was ruled over by Salahdi, including the *Sarkars* of Bhilsa and Chanderi were assigned to Sultan 'Alam Khan Lodi, who was related to Sultan Sikandar Lodi. The latter was driven away from Kalpi by the army of Hazrat Janat Ashyani Humayun Badshah.

19. *Akbar name* Vol. I (Bib. Ind.) PP. 128-9.

20. *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, P. 271.

21. *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, P. 272.

He came to the Sultan (Bahadur Shah) for refuge along with twelve thousand *sawars* and many elephants.

“The reason for his expulsions from Kalpi was that Mir Nizam u'ddin Khalifa, the wazir of Hazrat Firdus Makani, Babur Badshah called him his son, held him in high affection and also left the *Sarkar* of Kalpi under his charge. After a few years, Hazrat Firdus Makani (Babur) passed away and Hazrat Humayun became the Badshah. (Thereupon) Sultan Alam decided to rebel and then turned away from the right path. For this reason Humayun deputed Hindal (Mirza) along with other nobles to punish him. Sultan Alam came out of Kalpi and gave battle to Mirza Hindal near the village of Kampur but he was defeated, inspite of his large following. Then he turned to Sultan Bahadur Shah and entered his service.”²²

The battle of Lucknow, fought between Humayun and the Afghans under the leadership of Sultan Mahmud Lodi (son of Sultan Sikandar Lodi) in 1531 forced the leading Afghan nobles to migrate to Gujarat as they were finally defeated. The references to them, contained in the medieval works reveal that except Sher Khan Sur, almost all the nobles had fled from Bihar to Gujarat. Most important among them were Fath Khan sarwani (son of Azam Humayun Sarwani, (Sultan Sikandar's *muqta* of the *Vilayat* of Kara and Manikpur), Baban Khan Lodi (Shahu Khail), Malik Roop Chand, Dattu Sarwani and M'aru'f Farmuli. They were also treated in a manner befitting to their status. The relevant information, available in the *Waqi' at-i-Mushtaqi* sheds light on the fact that Sultan Bahadur Shah made all possible efforts to keep them happy with him as their support was considered essential for the Conquest of north India against the Mughals. Mushtaqi says about Mian M'aruf Farmuli :

”ایشان در گجرات پیش سلطان بہادر رفتند۔ روزے نشستہ بود کہ خبر آمدن دو جہاز از دریا رسید۔ و قماش و اجناسی کہ دران جہاز بود از ہر جنس یکیک پارچہ برای نمودن سلطان بہادر آوردہ بودند۔ دو خروار بود۔ فی الجملہ دران ہر دو جہاز ہفت کرور را اشیاء بود۔

22. *Mirat-i-Sikandari* PP. 288-9.

It may be noted that on Humayun's accession to the throne Mir Nizam Uddin Khalifa fell into disgrace on account of his involvement in a conspiracy against the former. Alam Khan Lodi who owed so much to the Khalifa could not feel secure on his fall hence his rebellion and flight.

سلطان مذکور گفت که هر دو جهاز بملازمان میان معروف حواله کند - میان معروف گفت که سلطانم من هیچ خدمتی بجا نیاورده‌ام چون خدمت خواهم کرد آنچه وجه من خواهد بود خواهم ستد - سلطان گفت این را مهمانی شما میدهم - گفت من بخشش را از هیچ بادشاهی نه ستدم -²³

"They (Mian Ma'ruf) went to Sultan Bahadur Shah in Gujarat. One day he was sitting with the Sultan, that news of the arrival of two ships from the sea was received. They brought two ass-loads of specimen of every (type of) cloth and other commodities in the ships to the Sultan for show. In both the ships there were goods worth about seven crore rupees (seventy millions). The Sultan ordered both the ships to be handed over to the men of Mian Ma'ruf. (But) Mian Ma'ruf said: "your Majesty: I have done no service (to you) so far. I shall accept my salary whatever it may be, when I do service." The Sultan said: "I give it to you as the host. The Mian said: I have never accepted tip from any King."

Besides, Sultan Bahadur Shah also appears to have invited the Afghan nobles who had been left in north India even after 1531. It is said that some time in 1532 he invited Sher Khan Sur who had earned fame for being a resourceful military General. The latter accepted the invitation and demanded money for preparing a large army as well as meeting the travelling expenses. Bahadur Shah sent him sufficient amount of money through the merchants but Sher Khan did not fulfil his promise. He kept the money with him and did not leave Bihar.²⁴

However, having completed his preparations for the Conquest of north India, Sultan Bahadur Shah made advance on the fort of Chittor in person while Alam Khan Lodi (Sultan Ala u'ddin), Tatar Khan Lodi, son of Sultan Ala u'ddin Lodi and Zaman Hirza were sent with large army contingents in the directions of Kalinjar²⁵, Biyana and the Punjab respectively to raise confusion and engage the Mughals in their own territories unless the fort of Chittor was captured.²⁶ But Tatar Khan Lodi upset the plan of Bahadur Shah by capturing the fort of Biyana against

23. *Waqi' at-i-Mushtaqit*, f. 70 b-71a.

24. *Akbar nama*, i/148 *History of Sher Shah Sur*, op. cit P. 41.

25. *Akbarnama*, i/128.

26. *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, PP. 306-307.

the latter's wishes. Because it startled Humayun who at once took effective measures for the defence of his Empire. He deputed Tardi with 300 *sawars* for connaissance and Mirza Askari with a large force for the destruction of Tatar Khan Lodi. Tardi Beg found Tatar Khan in a garden near Biyana and fell on him all of a sudden. Tatar Khan was killed even before the arrival of Mirza Askari²⁷. His murder dampened the spirits of others who also failed to achieve anything in other directions.

Upon the siege of Chittor by Bahadur Shah, the Rajputs requested Humayun for help and promised to pay him one lac *tankas* at every stage on way. Humayun accepted their offer, but Chittor was captured by Bahadur Shah before the former could reach there. Bahadur Shah having heard that Humayun was approaching, posted his men in Chittor and himself proceeded to Mandassor to fight against Humayun. He entrenched his camp near the fort of Mandassor but could not collect enough food. Humayun also stationed opposite to the rival camp and succeeded in stopping the supply of food grains to Bahadur Shah's camp. Consequently, food became scarce and extremely expensive in the Gujarat army Camp. People could not buy food grains even one seer for a *tanka*. For a few days they slaughtered horses and other animals and ate them. Ultimately they were faced with starvation.²⁸ Moreover, Rumi Khan, incharge of the Gujarat artillery was secretly won over by the Mughals.²⁹ However, Bahadur Shah was forced by the shortage of food in his camp to run away to Mandu. Before his flight, Rumi Khan had succeeded in joining the Mughal camp. The mughals hotly pursued the fugitives and also laid siege to the fort of Mandu. Though Bahadur Shah made good his escape to Gujarat, Alam Khan Lodi ex-*Muqta* of Kalpi was forced to surrender on the fall of Mandu. Alam Khan Lodi was put to death by the order of Humayun.³⁰

The Afghan nobles were now faced with a dilemma. They did not know where to go and what to do for the whole of the region from Malwa to Gujarat was occupied by the Mughals. Many of their followers were slain by the Mughals. Dattu Sarwani, who was in the camp of Bahadur Shah along with th Afghan nobles furnishes a detailed account of the suffering of the fugitives in the Deccan. He writes that he also came out of his tent

27. *Tarikh-i-Qutbi*, Khuwars hah bin Mibad al Husaini Jamia Millia , 1964 .P.614.

As a matter of fact Tatar Khan was advised to avoid a serious battle with the Mughals till the capture of Chittor.

28. *Lata'if-i-Quddusi* , Shaikh Ruknuddin, Mujtabai Press Delhi PP. 75-6.

29. *Mirat-i-S kandari*, PP. 309-310.

30. *Ib id*, P. 311.

and fled away with other fugitives. After undergoing great hardship, they reached Burhanpur. "In Burhanpur the Afghans again gathered; Malik Rup Chand had brought Miyan Baban Lodi there. Rup Chand told Dattu that on their flight the Mughals hotly pursued them and after an all night chase they attacked them, killed many of their companions and secured much booty. From Burhanpur they sought refuge in Jalgaon, held by Saiyid Umar. But they could not pull on with Saiyid Umar and again left for Burhanpur after a few months.

In Burhanpur they received the news of Bahadur Shah's safety in Diu. Sultan Alauddin Lodi took Dattu Sarwani and Malik Rup Chand with him to Gujarat. Reaching the Narbada river, they heard that Bahadur Shah having marched from Diu, fought a battle near Ahmadabad and gained victory over the Mughals. The Mughals suffered losses and then retired to Agra.³¹

The same writer informs us about the services of certain Afghans to the cause of Bahadur Shah in Gujarat. That Sultan Alauddin Lodi reached Champanir to meet Bahadur Shah but the latter had already gone to Cambay. Sultan Alauddin Lodi therefore sent Dattu with four elephants, seven camels and seven hundred Gold *mohurs* (Coins) to Sultan Bahadur to convey his felicitations. "Then news came that the *firangis* (portuguese), having filled a few ships were coming to seize Diu. Bahadur Shah rushed towards Diu and Sultan Ala Uddin (Lodi) followed him." Then Sultan Ala Uddin sent Dattu Sarwani to his *Pargana* of Dholka and also appointed him as the head of all his officers and servants. He ordered him to carry out his instructions.³²

In Diu Sultan Bahadur Shah was treacherously killed by the Portuguese on 13th February, 1537, and consequent on it everything was thrown into confusion. Meanwhile, the Afghans, scattered in Malwa, Khandesh and Gujarat were cheered up by the news of Sher Khan Sur's assumption of the title of Shah³³, as well as his victory over Sultan Mahmud Shah of Bengal in Gaur. The Afghans rushed to Sher Shah in Bihar as the war between him and the Mughals was imminent. With the exception of Sultan Alauddin Lodi³⁴, no Afghan or any other noble from north India stayed in Gujarat.

31. *Lataif-i-Quddusi* PP. 77-79.

32. *Ibid* P. 81.

33. *Mirat-i-Skandari* P. 318.

Also my *History of Sher Shah Sur* PP. 44-46 for further details.

34. *Lata'if-i-Quddusi* PP. 81-82.

Indeed, their timely arrival enabled Sher Shah to defeat Humayun in the battles of Chausa (1539) and Qanauj (1540). On the expulsion of the Mughals, Sher Shah more than doubled the area of the former Lodi Empire by his conquests of Bengal, Malwa, Rajputana and upper Sind.

It is also interesting to note that Sher Shah and his successors also followed a policy of neutrality and friendship towards Gujarat, although it was considerably weakened by chaos and anarchy that prevailed there after Bahadur Shah and some of its leading nobles wanted him (Sher Shah) to seize it³⁵. In 1547, Shuja'at Khan Sur, Sher Shah's Governor of Malwa, rebelled against Islam Shah and fled to Gujarat. But Islam Shah did not cross the Malwa border in his pursuit. He rather posted Isa Khan Sur with 20,000 troops to guard Malwa and then returned to his capital³⁶. In short, friendship between the courts of Gujarat and Delhi, established during the times of Sikandar Lodi lasted for long; Gujarat continued to provide shelter to the Afghans even after the collapse of the second Afghan Empire in 1556. The Afghans also served the Sultans of Gujarat with devotion and loyalty till Akbar's conquest (of Gujarat) in 1572.

35. In 1542 Darya Khan Gujarati and Sultan Alauddin Lodi, son of Bahlul Lodi were driven away from Gujarat by their rivals. They visited Sher Shah in Malwa and requested him for help. Sher Shah instead of marching to Gujarat took them in his service. Darya Khan Gujarati was posted in Ujjain where he died soon later. Ala uddin Lodi was entrusted with the charge of Sarang. pur *Sarkar Mirat-i-Sikandari* P. Also *History of Sher Shah Surm* P. 110.

36. *Some aspects of Afghan despotism in India* Iqtidar Husain Siddiqi Aligarh 1969

MUGHAL GEOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNTS OF KHANDESH

The political geography of the Mughal Empire attracted the attention of scholars quite a long time, beginning perhaps with Elliot's identification of *parganas* of *A' in-i-Akbari* lying in the present state of Uttar Pradesh (except Awadh)¹. Beams attempted studies on similar lines of Awadh, Bihar, Bengal and Orissa. But for the other parts of the Mughal Empire there has not so far been any comparable study.

In this paper I have translated that portion of *Dastur-ul 'Amal-i Shahinshahi* written by Munshi Thakur Lal Mathur Kaisth which deals with Khandesh. It contains the imperial regulations and political divisions of the then *Hindustan* and *Dekhan*. It contains an account of the *subahs*, *sarkars* and *parganas* from the time of Akbar to the year 1185 A.H./1771 A.D. It embraces the occasional changes that took place and historical notions of former rulers. Thakur Lal was the inhabitant of Burhanpur in Khandesh. He completed it in 1192 A.H./1778 A.D. It is very useful and valuable document, both as it relates to the geography and history of India.

I have collected the account of Khandesh and compared it with the account given by Lachhmi Narayan Shafiq in his *Khulasat-ul Hind*. It was written in 1210 A.H./1795 A.D. It contains the account of the same nature as that of *Dastur-ul 'Amal-in Shahinshahi*.

I have tried to identify the Mughal *parganas* with places located on modern names, giving where I have succeeded in my identifications, the modern spellings and coordinates.

My study has persuaded me to believe that the Mughal authorities were generally very conservative about the boundaries of their territorial divisions. The only major changes after Akbar, appear to have been made during Shah jahan.

Lahauri tells us that Shah Jahan transferred all the territories south of Narbada from Malwa to Khandesh in his 8th regnal year². Subsequently,

1. Elliot, *Memoirs etc. of the North-Western Provinces* ed. Beams II, pp. 82-146 and 203-6 with maps facing p. 203).

2. Rotograph in the Department of History, Aligarh.

3. The *sarkars* of Baijagarh and Nandurbar and most of the *Mahals* of Handia were

Khandesh was further enlarged by the addition of Baglana though it had remained a separate entity as *mulk* after its annexation in 1638⁴. Similarly, Shah Jahan carved out a separate province of Telingana from Berar⁵, probably in his 8th regnal year; but in 1657, it was merged with Bidar to form the *Suba* of Bidar⁶.

Apart from these changes, compared to the total number of *parganas*, the transfer of *parganas* from one *sarkar* to another seems very rare. The attached table shows the total evidence of such changes that I could gather from my sources.

The Table showing re-adjustment of the *Mahals*

S. No.	Mahal	Sarkar	Suba	Authorities
1.	Nandarbar	Nandarbar	Khandesh	S.D.; D.A. f. 29a; K.H. p. 98.
		Baglana	,,	A.D. No. I/17/645.
2.	Thalner	Asir	,,	A.A. f. 224; D.A. p. 24.
		Baglana	,,	A.D. No. I/3/301
3.	Jalod	Asir	,,	A.A. f. 224; D.A. f. 27a; K.H. 97
		Baglana	,,	A.D. No. I/3/301
4.	Nasirabad	Asir	,,	A.A. f. 224; D.A. 27b; K.H. p. 96.
		Baglana	,,	A.D. No. I/17/652
5.	Galna	Baijagarh	,,	A.D. No. I/17/652
		Galna	,,	D.A. f. 28b.

transferred to Khandesh. (Lahauri I ii, pp. 62-3; Sadiq Khan, Or. 174 ff. 60a-61a Or. 1671 ff. 33b-34a; *Dastur-ul 'Amal-i Shahinshahi* ff. 29a-32a 34b.

4. Sadiq Khan Or. 174 ff. 60b-61a, 87b-88a Or. 1671, ff. 33b-34a-48a; *Dastur-ul 'Amal-i Shahinshahi* f. 29b.

5. Lahauri, I, ii, 62-63, 205.

6. D.A. f. 80a.

1. A.A. *A'in-i Akbari* British Museum No. Add. 7652.

2. S.D. Shahjahani Documents.

3. A.D. Aurangzeb's Documents.

4. D.A. *Dastur-ul 'Amal-i Shahinshahi* Rotograph in the library of History Dept. A.M.U. Aligarh.

5. K.H. *Khulasat-ul Hind* Transcript in the library of History Dept. A.M.U. Aligarh.

The important fact that emerges from this table is that the *sarkar* of Baglana was greatly enlarged in Aurangzeb's time, annexing to itself some portions of *Sarkars* Nandurbar and Asirgarh. But subsequently, it appears to have been cut to its original size.

The number of *parganas* also remain largely stable. I give below a table showing the number of *Mahals* in the *sarkars* of Khandesh at the time of *A' in-i Akbari* and in the 18th century.

Suba Khandesh

<i>Sarkar</i>	No. of <i>Mahals Ain-i Akbari</i>	No. of <i>Mahals</i> 18th century
1. Asir	29	32
2. Nandurbar		5
3. Baglana		27
4. Baijagarh		32
5. Handia ⁷		23
6. Galna ⁸		7

A curious fact to be observed is that these Mughal geographical accounts give the name Bindhachal to the modern Satpura range.⁹

7. According to *Dastur-ul 'Amal-i Shahinshahi*, the *sarkar* of Handia contained 23 *Mahals* out of which 6 *Mahals* were in the province of Malwa f. 35a. But according to *Khulasat-ul Hind*, it contained only 17 *Mahals*.

8. According to *Dastur-ul 'Amal-i Shahinshahi*, *sarkar* of Galna contained 7 *Mahals*. There is a gap in the narration by the transcriber. After concluding the narration of *sarkar* Asir he writes as (4) Niamatabad known as Nabati (5) Akhari (6) Lohnir (7) Painth Bala.

9. Lachhmi Narayan Shafiq writes, "Bindhachal is situated in the *suba* with a breadth of 40 *kurohs* between Tapti and Narbada. It starts in the Surat *Sarkar* near Tah Maleer (?) In this hilly region no trace of any *zamindar* is to be found. In the past Bhils inhabited this (region) and wielded authority over wild elephants. Now no trace of them is to be found..... the fort Baijagarh is situated in this mountain which is not the least strong. Asir is also situated here. This is among the biggest forts of Khandesh. From this place (Asir) this range divides itself into two (parts) and near the border of Berar it forms plateau. This has been said (written) by Abu'l Fazl in *Akbarnama*. And Bear is situated between Sahsachal and Bindhachal. The forts of Narnala and Gavel of Berar *Suba* lie in this mountain. The fort of Deogarh is also here. And from this place (Deogarh) this mountain goes eastward and terminates into the mountain of Bengal *suba*." Please see K.H. p. 92

Another noticeable point is that both of them call the river Tapti as Tapi also.

I have plotted all the *parganas* identified on a 1: 1,00,000 map. It would seem that the Mughal frontiers followed physical contours in Khandesh. Both of them usually give different figures of *Jama* at the *Mahal* level.

There is difference between the *Jama* figure of a *sarkar* as described by them and the actual total of the *Jama* of all the *Mahals* in that *sarkar*.

We cannot arrive at the average number of villages in a *Mahal* because the number of all the villages in all the *Mahals* is not mentioned by them.

The number of *Sarkars* mentioned by both of them is at times different from the number of *sarkars* actually described.

Similarly, the number of *Mahals* actually described by both of them is different from the number given by them.

He describes the geography of Khandesh *suba* in these words "There is no other mountain in this *suba*, except in Baglana *sarkar* where various mountains join each other and encircle that *sarkar*. Narbada is among the rivers which flow on the borders of this *suba*. It comes out near the mountain and flowing through Bindhachal, it goes towards the west and falls into the sea near Cambay in Gujarat."

The other river is Tapti which originates from Moltapi pond near the capital (*balda*) Deogarh. It flows through *sarkar* Kherla of Berar *suba*, and passing in the south of Burhanpur, Thalner and Sultanpur it falls into the sea at (a distance of) 7 Kurohs from the port of Surat. Both these rivers (Narbada and Tapti) flow in the Deccan from east to west."

Between these two rivers, various small rivers flow. Among them is Kodi river which comes from Bindhachal, and passing through Baijagarh, it joins Narbada river in the North. The other (river) is Kanori which comes out from the hillock in Handia *sarkar* and joins Narbada near Mandhata in the north. Another (river) is Ganjal which comes out from the mountainous stretches of Bindhachal, which though appear separated from Bindhachal, actually form its part, and passing through Handia *sarkar* it joins Narbada. In these hilly stretches, between east and north lies the capital (*balda*) Burhanpur. Kali Bhaint zamindar (zamindari) is separated from it.

(Among) the rivers that join Tapti, one is Purna, which, passing in the south of Adilabad town (Qasba), reaches Tapti."

"The other river is Girna which comes out from Khammam hill. *Pargana* Bustgarh of Baglana *Sarkar* (lies here). Its Southern part is adjacent to Kokan and (it) lies in the South-West of this *suba*."

"In Galna *Sarkar*, river Mosan (flows). It comes out from Salher hill and passing in the South of Makher town, it goes eastwards. They both (Girna and Mosan) join each other and reach Tapti."

"Other river Manjhra comes out from Bhankhar hill (?) and joins Tapi (Tapti)."
K.H. pp. 92-93.

SUBA KHANDESH

To its east is Berar, and to its north Narbada and Malwa ; to its west the *sarkar* of Surat with Ramnagar, which is adjacent to Jauwar and Konkan; to the south, the *suba* of Aurangabad, the Sahyachal Range and the forts of Galna and Danvarah etc. The fort of Chanda¹⁰ is also situated in this range.

6 *sarkars*; 120 *Mahals* including the capital (*balda*). *Jama' Mahsul* Rs. 57, 24, 525-10-6.

1. The city (*Shahr*) of Burhanpur styled Darus-Surur.

..To its east the river Tapti flows between Zainabad and the city; to the north flows the stream of Utauli; to the south the rivulet of Pandarol; and to the west the river Nadda, which flows into the city.

35 *Mahals*, *Jama' (Kamil)*, Rs. 300. 622-5-0."

10. Modern Chandor marks the line between Jalgaon and the Marathwada territory. The Chandor range breaks off sharply from the Sahyadris in the North West of Nasik.

Jalgaon District Gazetteer—1962 edition pp. 1, 4. It lies in 20° 19' N and 74° 19'E and commands one of the best passes into Khandesh. Sir John Malcolm, A memoir of Central India, Vol. II, p. 486.

11. Neither Thakur Lal nor Lachhmi Narayan describe its geographical position.

SUBA KHANDESH
KHULASAT-UL HIND

1. Burhanpur
DASTUR-UL 'AMAL

S. No.	Name of the Mahal	Jama' Rs.	Name of the Mahal	Jama' Rs.
1	2	3	4	5
1.	Sad-o Panj (?) ¹	1,16,631—2—6	Chahaldo ¹	1,07,781—3—0
2.	Mandvi Shah Gunj	83,019—2—3	Mandvi Shah Gunj	16,019—2—0
3.	Mandvi Zainabad	12,527—11—6	Zainpura	1,495—2—0
4.	Jauhari Bazar	474—0—0	Jawahar Bazar ¹	242—14—0
5.	Mint	90,026—11—6	Mint	4,026—11—6
6.	Mir Bahri ¹	1,595—7—6	Mir Bahri ¹	166—3—0
7.	Mandvi Char Minah	466—3—9	—	—
8.	Koth Tamaku ¹	1,121—8—0	Koth Tamaku ¹	80,031—8—0
9.	Chabutra Chauk ¹	330—4—0	Chabutra ¹	930—4—0
10.	Chabutra Kotwali ¹	4,841—0—0	Chabutra Kotwali ¹	4,741—0—0
11.	Khuram Pora	396—10—0	Khuram Pora	196—1—0
12.	Manzur Pora	651—0—0	Manzur Pora	611—0—0
13.	Fateh Pora	1,420—4—0	Fateh Pur	1,420—14—0
14.	Hasan Pora	424—12—0	Hasan Pora	404—12—0
15.	Aurang Pora	78—13—0	Aurang Pora	66—0—6
16.	R'ad Andaz Pora	302—0—0	R'ad Andaz Pora	300—0—0
17.	Jai Singh Pora	292—12—0	Jai Singh Pora	296—0—0
18.	Wazirabad	—	Wazirabad	—

19.	Farman Bari	1,470—8—0	Farman Bari	490—8—0
20.	Bagh Firoza	383—1—0	Bagh Firoza	683—1—0
21.	Bagh Nawab Pora	—	—	—
22.	A'zam Pora	—	A'zam Pora	—
23.	Sarai Qadim	802—12—0	Kiraya Sarai Qadim	700—12—0
24.	Sarai Jadid	497—8—0	Sarai Nau	490—8—0
25.	Sarai Niyazi	346—13—0	—	—
26.	Mahir Pora	—	—	—
27.	Nakhas ¹	3,044—15—3	—	—
28.	Sabzi Mandi ¹	4,896—8—9	—	—
29.	—	—	—	1,07,781—3—0
30.	—	—	Lal Bagh	5,098—8—0
31.	—	—	Bagh Alam Arai Known as Ahu Khana	5,523—12—6
32.	—	—	Sultanabad	77—0—6
33.	—	—	Sang Wazni	—
34.	—	—	Bagh Loda Puri	62,527—10—6
35.	—	—	Mandvi Jahanabad	62,527—10—6
36.	—	—	Koth Parcha	5,830—15—6
37.	—	—	Pandhri	—
38.	—	—	Mandvi Dari	1,993—0—0
39.	—	—	Parhata Aspan ¹²	944—15—9
40.	—	—	Mahsul Kawan ¹	—
41.	—	—	Sarai Bhanri	46—13—0
Total		3,26,051—8—0		3,03,136—5—3

1. These were the fiscal units, named after the areas which that unit paid.

2. *Sarkar Asir: 32 Mahals*

S. No.	Dastur-ul 'Amal					Khulasat-ul Hind			Remarks	Modern Names	Coordinates
	Name of the Mahal	No. of villages	Asli	Dakhli	Jama'	Name of the Mahal	No. of villages	Jama'			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1.	Asir	212	197	15	156588—14—6	Asir	212	156588—14—6	Asirgarh	21°28'N; 76°23'E	
2.	Zainabad	123	111	17	171864—15—0	Zainpur	128	171864—15—0	Zainabad	21°18'N; 76°15'E	
3.	Moham-madabad known as Manjrod	82	77	5	22177—13—6	Moham-madpur known as Manjrod	82	132117—13—6	Manjrod	21°53'N; 75°48'E	
4.	Jamnera	166	143	23	87543—3—6	Janera	166	88543—4—6	Jamner	20°45'N; 75°45'E	
5.	'Adilabad	135	124	21	(?)176560—9—0	'Adilabad	135	176560—9—0	On its one side lay Purna river & on the other at some distance Narmala (?) pond which is full of water throughout the whole year.	Adilabad	21°0'N; 76°00'E

12. Neither Thakur Lal nor Lachhmi Narayan, describe its geographical position.

6.	Danturli known as Aradu	81	72	9	99593—1—3	—	—	At some distance from the village runs a stream which is called Ushnudak. It is a stream of hot water and Hindus take bath in it.	Anturli	21°10'N;75°5'E
7.	Baran gaon	69	62	7	55442—10—0	Barangaon	69	55441—10—0	Varan- gaon	21°00'N;75°55E
8.	Podar	70	34	36	60276—7—0	Podar	70	60276—7—0	—	—
9.	Sindgi	27	25	2	15091—3—0	—	—	—	Sindgi	16°58'N;76°13E
10.	Lohara	28	27	1	32381—0—0	Lohaura	28	32902—1—3	Lohara	21°40'N;75°30E
11.	Khandesa	52	47	5	65706—2—0	—	—	—	—	—
									The village Lalit Ramesh is near it and the rivers Girna and Tapti join each other in that village	

2. *Sarkar Asir : 32 Mahals (contd.)*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
12.	Bornar	43	41	2	42591—5—9	—	—	—	—	—	—
13.	Mustafa Abad known as Chopra	147	124	23	9392—8—3	Mustafa Abad known as Chopra	—	207392—8—4	—	Chopra	21°10'N; 75°15'E
14.	Manjroh	87	78	9	42785—9—0	Panchora	87	42785—9—0	—	Pachora	20°38'N; 75°20'E
15.	Erandol	144	139	5	50329—2—6	Erandol	144	150929—2—0	—	Here Dhara- ngaon has been very famous and that village is in this pargana itself.	20°55'N; 75°20'E
16.	Bhindgaon	82	71	12(?)	47314—7—0	Bhedgaon	82	47314—4—0	—	Bhadgaon	20°35'N; 75°05'E
17.	Manek	82	—	—	44567—12—9	—	—	—	—	—	—
18.	Raver	160	—	—	45981—7—9	Raver	160	245781—7—9	—	Raver	21°10'N; 76°00'E
19.	Bhusoh	34	33	1	13330—15—3	Basorah	34	13930—15—3	—	—	—
20.	Amalnera	139	137	2	95637—3—3	Amalnera	129	95637—3—3	—	Amalner	21°00'N; 75°00'E
21.	Jalod	152	148	4	87362—9—3	Jalod	52(?)	89962—6—3	—	—	—
22.	Batado	56	47	7(?)	75489—6—9	—	—	—	—	Betawad	21°10'N; 74°55'E
23.	Dangri	76	71	5	63396—2—0	Dankri	46	63996—7—0	—	—	—

24.	Seodah	43	41	2	92313—9—0	Saadah	46	92313—0—0	Savada	21°05'N; 75°50'E
25.	(?)	140	86	54	34371—1—0	—	—	—	—	—
26.	Thalner	136	125	11	26406—5—9	—	—	—	It is Thalner situated on the bank of Tapti.	21°10'N; 74°58'E
27.	Songir	85	74	11	55324—4—3	Songir	85	54324—4—3	Songir	21°42'N; 76°2'E
28.	Fatehabad known as Dhulia	125	120	5	83197—7—3	Fatehabad	125	83198—7—3	Dhulia	20°58'N; 74°47'E
29.	Aviran	118	117	1	98813—3—3	—	—	—	Hari Pandit had built a strong fortress in Marola of <i>pargana</i> Pipli so that people may live there.	—
30.	Nasirabad	138	128	10	8701—0—0	Nasirabad	138	208801—0—0	Nasirabad	20°00'N; 75°40'E
31.	Abnaker	118	117	1	36847—3—9	—	—	—	—	—
32.	Jamod	52	47	5	13730—15—0	Bebaladal known as Jamod	52	68132—6—0	Jamoda	21°71'N; 75°20'E
33.	—	—	—	—	—	Mandarti	27	25009—0—0	—	—
34.	—	—	—	—	—	Lornar	43	42591—5—0	—	—
35.	—	—	—	—	—	Chandner	51	65706—2—9	—	—
36.	—	—	—	—	—	Mahel	82	44567—13—9	—	—

2. Sarkar Asir : 32 Mahals (contd.)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
37.	—	—	—	—	—	Atraun	47	98813—3—4		—	—
38.	—	—	—	—	—	Tabwar	53	75489—6—9		—	—
39.	—	—	—	—	—	Niamata- bad known as Nabati	52	43305—10—3		—	—
40.	—	—	—	—	—	Painth Bala	35	18174—10—3		—	—
41.	—	—	—	—	—	Loh Nir	28	24070—0—0		—	—
Total	3207				1839155—8—9		2640	2709389—14—8			—

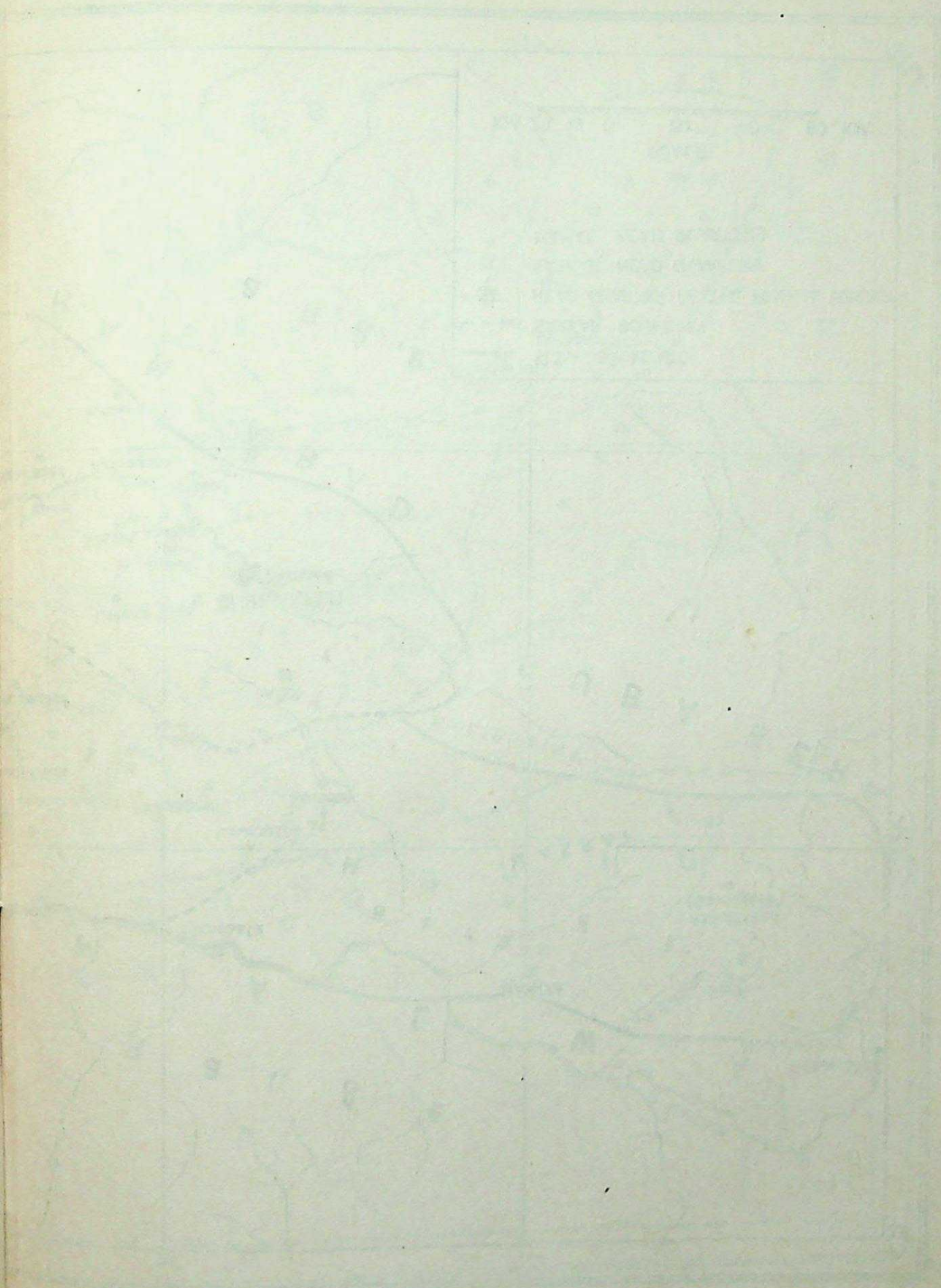
3. *Sarkar Galna :*

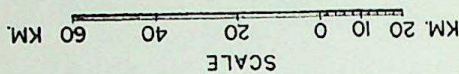
Now, to the east of its *parganas* is situated (the *sarkar* of) Asir, which lies under the Ghat of Sahyachal Range, to the north the town of Nadurbar, to the west Baglana, to the south the forts of Ankai Tankai etc; country that extends from the Khammam Range to Sahyachal and also to the Konkan range, which runs southwards. In this *sarkar* the river Mosi joins other streams flowing from Baglana and falls into the Tapti.

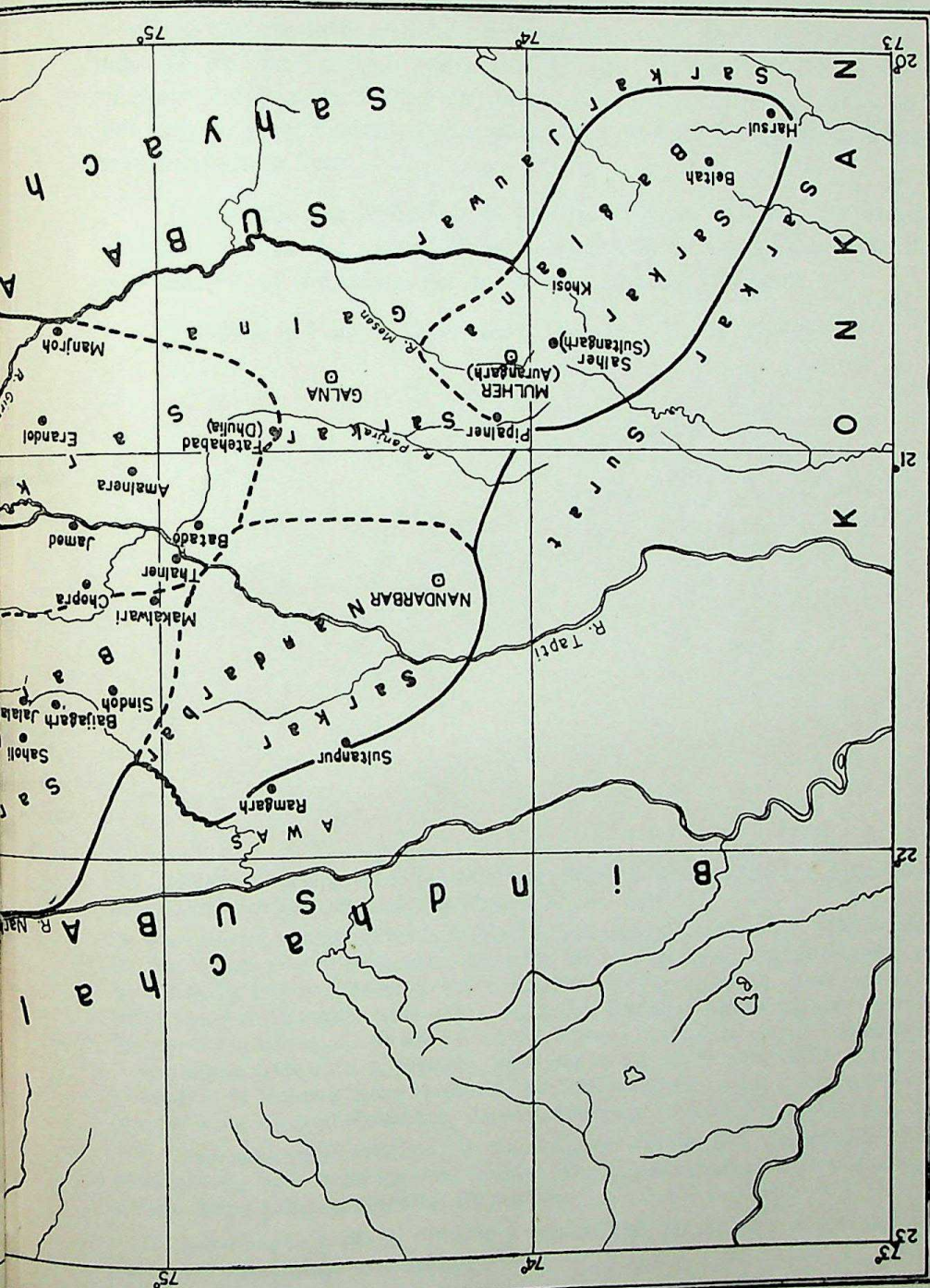
Jama Rs. 2, 07, 508-12-9

3. Sarkar Galna

S. No.	Dastur-ul 'Amal		Khulasat-ul Hind		Modern Names		Coordinates
	Name of the Mahal	No. of villages	Jama'	Name of the Mahal	No. of villages	Jama'	
1.	Galna	72	75221-10-0	—	—	Galna	20° 46' N; 74° 32' E
2.	Longwara	—	12896-9-0	—	—	—	—
3.	Chikal Dang	18	20176-9-0	—	—	—	—
4.	Niamatabad	58	43605-10-3	Niamatabad known as Nabati	52	43305-10-3	—
5.	Paint Bala	45	18174-10-0	Paint Bala	35	18174-10-0	—
6.	Mohanah	28	24070-1-3	—	—	—	—
7.	Name not mentioned	16	13463-11-0	—	—	—	—
8.	—	—	—	Akhari	16	13463-11-0	—
9.	—	—	—	Lohnir	28	2470-0-0	—
Total		237	207606-12-6		131	77413-15-3	







4. *Sarkar Nadarbar*:

The *Mahals* of Asir are situated in its east while Tapti flows to the north, so that the town of Sultanpur¹³ stands on this river. On the other side (of the river) extends Bindhachal Range. To the west the *sarkar* of Surat and Baglana, further on Galna. There is a mountain range in this *sarkar*. River Panjar¹⁴ flows out from it and joins Tapti which flows west-ward on to Surat.

In the past this *sarkar* was a part of Gujarat. During the reign of Akbar, it formed a part of Malwa. During 8th R.Y. of Shah Jahan it was attached to Burhanpur due to its proximity to Khandesh.

5 *Mahals* but one is *Ghair Amali, Jama*¹⁵ Rs. 6, 53, 098-0-0.

13. Sultanpur is situated in 21° 38'N and 74°35'E, on the site of a ruined city with an old fort and falls enclosing about a square mile.

It was included in Gujarat till in 1370 AD it was taken by Malik Raja (1370-99 AD) the first Faruki king of Khandesh. Muzaffar, the Gujarat King, hastened to recover it, and Malik Raja was forced to retire to Thalner. In 1418, the joint forces of Malik Nasir of Khandesh (1399—1437 AD) and Ghazni Khan of Malwa invested Sultanpur, but retired on the advance of the Gujarat army. In 1536AD according to a promise made while a prisoner, Mohammad III made over Sultanpur and Nandurbar to Mubarak Khan Faruki of Khandesh. Under Akbar, Sultanpur was a *mahal* of the *sarkar* of Nandurbar. Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. XXIII, p. 138.

14. Its modern name is Panjhra. It flows between Jalgaon and Dhulia districts of Maharashtra, and forms the only natural feature demarcating it over a major stretch—Jaigaon District Gazetteer 1962 edition.

15. According to Lachhmi Narayan it comprises of 731 villages which yield an amount of Rs. 573398—0—0 K.H., p. 98.

4. Sarkar Nadarbar

S. No.	Dastur-ul 'Amal		Khulasat-ul Hind			Remarks	Modern Names	Coordinates
	Name of the Mahal	No. of villages	Jama'	Name of the Mahal	No. of villages	Jama'		
1.	Nadarbar	261	341058—11—6	Nadarbar	261	341058—1—9	Nandarbar	21°23'N; 74° 19'E
2.	Sultanpur	285	181371—13—6	Sultanpur	285	181377—12—6	Hargana village is situated at a distance of 10 <i>kurohs</i> from here. The rivers Tapti and Komhimeet each other at a point very near that, and flow ahead.	21°45'N; 74° 32'E
3.	—	—	—	Bhanbher	149	99851—2—6	—	—
4.	Talsohi Khand ¹⁶	—	—	Tamuh Khaber ¹⁷	—	—	—	—
5.	Mahmansa	149	99851—2—6	—	—	—	—	—
6.	Baisa	36	31131—0—6	—	—	—	—	—
7.	—	—	—	Nir	36	31131—0—0	—	—
Total		731	653412—12—0		731	622287—1—3		

16. It is *Ghair 'Amali mahal* D.A.f. 29b. A *Ghair 'Amali mahal* was the *mahal* where revenue was not assessed.

17. This is also a *Ghair 'Amali mahal* K.H. p. 99.

5. *Sarkar Baglana*:

In the past, the *zamindars* of this territory paid tribute to a Gujarati Raja. The rulers of Khandesh used to attack and devastate this territory. During 11th R.Y. of Shah Jahan it was conquered by Prince Aurangzeb and formed a part of Khandesh *suba*. Jai Chand, the brother of Baharji, who was a descendant of Raja Jai Chand, was given a *mansab* of 3000/2500 together with the *pargana* of Sultanpur as *Watan-Jagir*¹⁸. His son-in-law Param Deo was given Ram Nagar,¹⁹ which lies below the *ghat* of Baglana. He agreed to pay Rs. 10,000 as annual *peshkash*.²⁰

To its east is Galna; to its north the river Tapti and Bindhachal range; to its west Sarkar Surat; to its south Sagamner *sarkar* and the Sahyachal Range (on which stands Nasik) are situated. It contains seven forts such as Auranggarh, Sultangarh, Salher, Talsonah, Sakonah, Tanbah and Haibatgarh.²¹

The river Mosan, coming from Salher, passing under Aurang Garh flows east and joins the river Korand in the *sarkar* of Galna; and then flowing past Tumar and Nasirabad joins the Tapti.

The entire *Sarkar* returned an amount of²² Rs. 4, 60, 195-1-6.

18. The *Watan jagirs* originated from the admission of *zamindars* or territorial chiefs into the Mughal service. The chiefs obtained *mansabs* or ranks, the pay for which was equal to the *jama* of their dominions. These dominions were autonomous. The old dominions were known as their *watans* and they remained with their family. After the death of the holders of *watans*, *mansabs* were given (to their heirs) according to the assessed revenue (*damha*) of their *watans*. M. Athar Ali, *The Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzeb*, p. 79.

19. Ram Nagar lies between 23° 12' and 24° 23'N and 80° 36'E. Madhya Pradesh. It is in the south of Kaimur range—Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. XXI, p. 180.

20. *Peshkash* was the present made by an inferior to a superior. It symbolised allegiance to the superior.

21. According to Lachhmi Narayan those forts were : Mulher, Salher, Juler, Haibatgarh, Tesul, Salotah and Manah. K.H.p. 99. *Ma'athir-ul Umara* gives the names of the 7 forts as : Mulher known as Aurang Garh, Salher known as Sultan Garh, Hatgarh, Julher, Baisul, Namah and Salotah, M.U. Vol. I, 1894 edition, p. 415.

22. According to Lachhmi Narayan, the figure stood at Rs. 388981—3—0.

5. *Sarkar Baglana*

S. No.	Dastur-ul 'Amal		No. of Villages	Jama'		Khulasat-ul Hind		Modern Names	Coordinates
	Name of the Mahal			Jama'		Name of the Mahal	Jama'		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		
1.	Aurang Garh known as Qila Saddah.	—	331—8—0	Bari Aurang Garh Known as Mulher	331—0—0	Mulher	20°48' N; 74°3'E		
2.	Koraoli	28	27694—12—6	Korati	29699—12—6	—	—		
3.	Talauni	28	27696—11—0	Talauni	27696—11—3	—	—		
4.	Pipalher	33	44022—12—0	Piplaner	44022—12—0	Pimpalner	20°57'N; 74°4'E		
5.	Dhumal	7	22662— 0—0	Dhumal	12662—5—0	—	—		
6.	Chaupara	—	5659—2—0	Chopala	5659—2—0	—	—		
7.	Syamdas	15	26227—0—0	Sandas	6229—12—0	—	—		
8.	Khosi	26	14459—0—0	Kinasi	14459—12—0	Kanasi	20°32'N; 73°54'E		
9.	Simla	30	10392—0—0	Piplah	10992—12—0	—	—		
10.	Raipur	236	78024—7—0	Rajpur known as Lohpura	88024—7—0	—	—		
11.	Damal	103	40661—0—0	Danak	4761—0—0	—	—		
12.	Bhandawal	112	2657—0—0	Hindoli	2357—0—0	—	—		
13.	Malgarh	115	16622—0—0	—	—	—	—		
14.	Srikhamla	10	362—0—0	Srikhamla	362—0—0	—	—		
15.	Audhi	—	—	Aulhi	7612—0—0	—	—		
16.	Harsul	38	2396—0—0	Harsul	1991—0—0	Harsul	20°12'N; 73°20'		

17.	Sultangarh known as Salher	36	—	Sultangarh known as Salher	32—0—0	Salher 20°43' N; in 73°56'E
18.	Hastnapur	56	37095—12—0	—	—	—
19.	Son	18	18368—0—0	—	—	—
20.	Mangarh	—	70690—0—0	—	—	—
21.	Haul	34	49692—12—0	—	—	—
22.	Bahadurthal	—	1650—0—0	Bahadurthal ²³	1615—0—0	—
23.	Khusarthal	51	—	Kusharphal	51—0—0	—
24.	Belnah Chob	—	1624—10—0	Painth Chobe	1624—10—0	—
25.	Daruz Zarb	—	—	Mahal Daruz Zarb	—	—
26.	—	—	—	Bustgarh	16722—10—6	—
27.	Beltah	—	4610—0—0	Painth	4760—0—0	Paneth 20°16'N; 73°31'E
28.	—	—	—	Chitapur	37095—13—0	—
29.	—	—	—	Saulia	18968—0—0	—
30.	—	—	—	Pankrah	7790—0—0	—
31.	Aurangpur ²⁴ known as Targarh	302	—	Aurangpur	900—0—0	—
32.	—	—	—	Pisul	49791—12—0	—
Total		1324	503588—4—0		396211—7—3	

23. One of the accounts is definitely incorrect as regards the *Jama'* figures.

24. The number of villages is doubtful.

6. *Sarkar Baijagarh or Kharkaun*²⁵

In the past this *sarkar* formed part of Malwa *suba*, but in the 8th R.Y. of Shah Jahan, it was transferred to Khandesh *suba* because Emperor Shah Jahan ruled that owing to its proximity with Burhanpur and its lying to the south of river Narbada, it should belong to Khandesh. To its west the territory of Mohan Singh Zamindar of Awas whose headquarters are at the fort of Ramgarh.²⁶ To the south Bindhachal range and Asir. The headquarters (of the *sarkar*) are at the town of Ghargon; previously these were at Baijagarh which stands upon a hill. The Kori (Kondi) river originates 13 *kurohs* from there and coming out of Bindhachal flows north of this *sarkar*, joining the Narbada. Talakwada²⁷ is on this river.

Akbarpur pass is also situated in this *sarkar*²⁸. 33 *Mahals*.⁹

25. Its modern name is Khargon. It is situated near Indore lying between 21° 32' N and 74° 20' and 76° 17' E. Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. XIX, p. 117.

26. It is situated in 22° 53' N and 82° 55' E. Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. XXI, p. 176.

27. It lies in 21° 57' N 73° 37' E. It stands on the right bank of Narbada.

28. It was the main route from the Deccan to Agra and Delhi during the Mughals. It crossed Narbada near Akbarpur which is now called Khalghat. Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. XIX, p. 118.

29. Thakur Lal does not give its *Jama*' figure, but Lachhmi Narayan gives it as Rs. 551, 964-4-0 K.H. p. 101.

6. *Sarkar Baijagarh or Kharkaun*

S. No.	Dasturul' Amal			Khulasat-ul Hind		Remark	Modern Name	Coordinates
	Name of the Mahal	No. of villages	Jama'	Name of the Mahal	Jama'			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1.	Kharkaun	121	96899-0-0	Kharkaun	66899-0-0		Kharkaun	21°52'N;75°37'E
2.	Saholi	19	15305-0-0	Sankvi	15905-0-0		Songvi	21°44'N;75°23'E
3.	Madhkal	26	7535-10-0	Mudkhal	7535-10-0		—	—
4.	Baror	45	22575-9-0	Baror	22575-0-0		Barur	21°45'N;75°32'E
5.	Aun	35	24541-0-0	Aund	24541-9-0		—	—
6.	Islamabad	83	70602-0-0	Islamabad	7602-0-0		Islamabad	21°38'N;75°38'E
7.	Hari	16	4502-0-0	Bauri	4502-0-0		—	—
8.	Malkhora	65	24652-13-0	Mulkwara	24652-13-0		—	—
9.	Jalalabad	112	44019-1-0	Jalalabad	44019-10-6		Jalalabad	21°41'N;75°25'E
10.	Mohammadpur	85	49096-0-0	Mohammadpur	49096-6-0		—	—
11.	Bawan Gaon	33	5673-2-0	Bamangaon	5673-2-0		Bamangaon	21°56'N;76°25'E
12.	Sultanabad	57	26045-0-0	Sultanpur known as Sul-tanabad	26045-0-6		—	—
13.	Deolakha	—	70865-0-0	Devlakunta	7865-0-0		—	—
14.	Chari	—	2305-0-0	Chamari	23005-0-0		—	—
15.	Kapal	13	81158-0-0	—	—		—	—
16.	Indapur	16	90382-0-0	Amlapur	9982-0-0		—	—
17.	Mardana	35	23121-0-6	Mardana	23121-5-0		—	—
18.	Makalwari	42	8151-0-0	Nakalwari	8151-0-0		Nagalvadi	21°18'N;75°00'E
19.	Morana	35	1095-4-0	—	—		—	—

6. Sarkar Baijagarh or Kharkam (contd).

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
20. Karado		33	22202-5-0	Karado	22201-5-0	The pass through Bin-dhyachal goes from here.	—	—
21. Sindhoh		68	4291-0-0	Sindhon	4291-10-6		Sindhwa	21°42'N; 75°3'N;
22. Farrukhabad		55	14419-0-0	Farrukhabad	14419-0-0		—	—
23. Pindwara		32	30643-6-0	Mundwarah	3343-6-0		—	—
24. Daboi		13	30071-10-0	—	—		—	—
25. Bawana		26	11186-12-6	Maruna	11186-12-6		—	—
26. Amchur		35	634-15-0	Anjru	634-15-0		—	—
27. Nakodah		8	395-2-0	—	—		—	—
28. Kanhapur		24	17275-15-6	Kathapur	17205-15-6		—	—
29. Nakoh		119	43446-1-0	Malsoh	43446-1-3		—	—
30. Sivrai		—	65-0-0	Sawari	65-0-0		—	—
31. Bhikangaon		—	34646-0-0	Bikangaon	34745-0-0		—	—
32. Kiuras gaon		8	395-2-0	Khorasgaon	21552-10-0		Becangaon	21°53'N; 75°58'E
33. —		—	—	Bitkhal	2158-0-0		—	—
34. —		—	—	Katrana	1095-4-0		—	—
35. —		—	—	Malahurah	995-3-0		—	—
36. —		—	—	Mahwi	4071-10-0		—	—
Total		1259	1515330-12-6		540726-10-0			

7. *Sarkar Handia*³⁰ *Mahals*³¹; 6 *Mahals* attached to *suba* Malwa.

In times past, this *sarkar* had 23 *parganas* and was included in the *suba* of Malwa, until the reign of Akbar and the annexation of Khandesh. But Shah Jahan ordered in the 8th R.Y. that such of its *Mahals* as lay south of the Narbada river, in proximity of Burhanpur should be transferred to the *suba* of Khandesh, while such of its *mahals* as lay to the north of the Narbada, should be deemed as belonging to the *suba* of Malwa.

Thus, to the east of its *Mahals*, Deogarh belonging to Berar; to the north, Narbada river, on which the town of Handia stands; to the west, the *sarkar* of Baijagarh, to the south, the *sarkar* of Kali Bhaint³¹ and Makrai³² (?).

Most of its *zamindars* are Gonds³³ and are under the *subadar* of the city (Burhanpur).

The river Ganjal flows through this *sarkar*. It rises in Bindhachal, and flowing through the *sarkar* of Kherla, of Berar, turns westward, and enters Khandesh, and passing by the hills of Kali Bhaint and Handia, flows northwards. At some places it forms the boundary between Baijagarh and this *sarkar*. It joins the Narbada at Mandhata³⁴, which stands on the Narbada river, with the temple *dewal* of Ankaraisa Mahadeo on the opposite side, where after *Diwali* large numbers of Hindus gather and there is large trade in camels, cows, etc. The fort of Nawalgarh, also known as Jogagarh, where there is a silver mine, also stands on the Narbada, and belongs to this *sarkar*.

30. According to Lachhmi Narayan it contains only 17 *mahals* K.H. p. 102.

31. It is modern Kali Bhit near Makrai. Its hilly tract lies between 21° 30' and 22° 10' N and 76° 30' and 77° 30' E

32. It lies between 21° 58' and 22° 14' N and 76° 57' 12E. During Mughal times it was inhabited mainly by Gonds and Korkus. Imperial Gazetteer of India Vol. XVII p. 44.

33. Most of them were Raj Gonds.

34. It is in Madhya Pradesh, situated in 22° 15' N and 76° 9' E. and 32 miles from Khandwa.

Here, the Narbada, is confined between rocks, and not more than one hundred yards broad but very deep. About three-quarters of a mile to the Eastward is a *ghat* which becomes fordable in January or February, but never easily owing to the rapidity of the stream and the larger round stones in its bed.

Mandhata is a hill of moderate height and the town stood on the slope of the hill. Sir John Malcolm. A Memoir of Central India Vol. II, p. 504.

7. *Sarkar Handia*

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S. No.	Dastur-ul 'Amal			Khulasat-ul Hind		Remarks	Modern Names	Coordinates
	Name of the Mahal	No. of villages	Jama'	Name of the Mahal	Jama			
1.	Handia ³⁶	—	26685—0—0	Handia	26385—12—0		Handia	22°26'N; 77°E
2.	Jaloda	8	53354—0—0	Jalodah	53314—3—6		—	—
3.	Loni ³⁶	16	7475—0—0	—	—		—	—
4.	Syambarh	115	9264—13—0	Chaharum Garh	9300—0—0		—	—
5.	Borli	35	40301—0—0	Purni	4264—13—0		—	—
6.	Havind ³⁷	108	1523—9—3	—	—		—	—
7.	Khandoh ³⁸	276	113850—13—3	Khandoh	113850—13—9		Khandwa	21°50'N; 76°23'E
8.	Juloosi	12	1175—0—0	—	—		—	—
9.	Hoshangabad ³⁹	260	55301—0—0	Hoshangpur known as Hoshagabad	55300—0—0		Hoshangabad	22°46'N; 77° 45'E
10.	Seoli	—	37307—0—0	Seoni	37307—8—0		Seoni	22°6'N; 77°35'E
11.	Chondisi	54	24571—0—0	—	—		—	—
12.	Ahmedabad known as Saonligarh	—	11000—0—0	—	—	It produces abundant of rice.	Saonligarh	22°12'N; 77°29'E
13.	Ranoda	33	10396—0—0	Alodah	10391—0—0		—	—
14.	Bias	—	3001—0—0	—	—		—	—
15.	Chandah Chokah	—	82001—0—0	Chandardah Hichokah	82—0—0		—	—

16.	Kosgaon	—	12625—0—0	Komgaon	12626—0—0	—	—
17.	Sahli	360	24023—0—0	Sanjhi	24023—0—0	It has got a strong fortress of Paplod and the com-mandant resides here.	—
18.	—	—	—	Tamurli	7475—0—0	—	—
19.	—	—	—	Hathbandah	8523—9—3	—	—
20.	—	—	—	Malheri	1175—0—0	—	—
21.	—	—	—	Madhar	24571—0—0	—	—
22.	—	—	—	Nipasa	3000—0—0	—	—
23.	—	—	—	Nasirabad	11000—0—0	Naseerabad	22°48'N; 77°58'E
Total		1356	487167—3—6		402588—11—6		

35. It is a town and fortress situated on the south Bank of the Narbada. The fort of Handia commands several *ghats* or fords across the Narbada. Sir John Malcolm, A Memoir of Central India, Vol. II p. 295.

36. Out of those 16 villages, 4 belonged to Saonligarh D.A. f. 35a.

37. Out of those 108 villages, 27 belonged to Kali Bhit D.A. f. 35a.

38. Out of them 257 were *Asli* and 19 *Dakhilis* D.A. f. 35a; *Asli* Villages were the *Qadimi* (original) villages, while *Dakhili* villages were new villages, whose *jama*. was still considered part of the *jama* of an *Asli* village—Khwaaja Yasin's Glossary f. 80a

39. Out of them 222 were *Asli* and 33 (?) were *Dakhili*—D.A. f. 35a.

Rafi Ahmad Alavi
Aligarh.

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO PARGANA ADMINISTRATION IN THE DECCAN UNDER ASAF JAH I,

Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah I, having resigned from the office of *Wizarat*, returned from Delhi to the Deccan in August 1724. He established his authority, which had resulted from military victory in the battle of Shakar Kherda, over the six provinces of the Deccan. He broke all effective relations with the Centre and appointed at will provincial governors and *diwans*. He bestowed *mansabs*, titles and *Jagirs* on his adherents as reward; without any reference to the royal court he made fresh *a'imma* grants and renewed the old ones.¹ However, he preserved both the territorial divisions and administrative institutions of the Empire. For administering several *mahals* formed into one territorial unit and sometimes of a single *pargana*, he appointed an officer who combined in his person the functions of *amin*, *faujdar* and *shiqqdar*. The other subordinate functionaries, working in *pargana* or *mahals*, were *karkun*, *fotahdar* and *waqa'i-nigar*.

The documents under review² principally deal with the functions and duties of these officers; they further supply information regarding the procedure of their appointment, area of jurisdiction and mode of payment of salaries. This authentic source-material is very useful for the study of the Deccan administration during the 18th century and its comparison with systems then operating in other provinces. In spite of many similarities between the systems, there were, of course, important differences. For instance, a provincial *diwan* in the Deccan was vested with far more extensive powers than enjoyed by his counterpart either in Gujarat or Bengal. In the Deccan the *sadar* became less conspicuous and his authority declined in all such matters as the *madad-ma'ash* grants. Here, again, the practice of farming was officially recognised and carried in the *khalisa* on a wide scale. In other provinces at the *pargana* level, on the other

1. Qasim Aurangabadi, *Ahwal-al-khawaqin*. Add. 26, 244, f 215a.

2. These documents are preserved in the Hyderabad State Archives. I am thankful to the Director of the Archives who permitted me to use the collection of these rare documents.

hand, there was one '*amil*³ or the executive officer, directly connected with the work of revenue collection and the improvement of land. The *amin* of the *pargana* was in charge of revenue-assessment and all administrative business pertaining to it, while the *faujdar* of a *sarkar* was basically responsible for the maintenance of law and order. But in Gujarat the functions of *amin* and *faujdar* were exercised by one officer alone.

The holder of the post of *amin-faujdar-shiqqdar*, according to these documents, was entrusted with the management of revenue affairs and preservation of peace. The *karkun* was an accountant in the *pargana* government. He dealt with matters relating to the realisation of dues and safe custody of money collected from the *mahals*. He maintained registers and records which contained details about daily receipts and disbursements. The local treasury was placed under the authority of an officer called *fotahdar*. The fourth officer of importance was *waqa'i-nigar* whose primary function in brief was to record in his *waqa'i* (diary) all facts concerning assessment and collection, cases of disputes and conflicts among the inhabitants, and proceedings and occurrences of every kind. He was required to despatch copious reports, together with his comments and explanatory notes, to the government headquarters. He also discharged additional duties of *khazanadar* in which capacity he prevented the imposition of illegal taxes and informed the government about these matters. These officers were under the control and direction of the provincial *diwan* from whose office their *sanads* of appointments were issued.

In order to present a clear and distinct picture, it may be necessary to premise with a broad outline of functions of the *pargana* staff consisting of *amin*, *faujdar*, *shiqqdar* and *amin-faujdar*, as set forth in the well-known *dastur-al'amals*. The account is followed by an attempt to analyse the documents and assess their significance, particularly with regard to peculiarities of the *pargana* administration in the Deccan. Owing to the unique importance of these documents

3. For details of his powers and duties, vide, Irfan Habib, the *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 275. The *a'in-i 'amalguzar* lays down, "Whatever is paid into the treasury, he shall himself examine and count and compare it with the day-ledger of the *karkun*. This he shall verify by the signature of the *khazanchi* and placing it in bags under seal, he shall deposit it in a strong room and fasten the door thereof with several locks of different construction". *A'in-i Akbari*, tr. Jarrett, Vol. II, p. 46.

under discussion, some of their Persian texts as specimen are given in the Appendix.

Amin

He was the chief assessment officer of a *pargana*.⁴ The government instructed him (1) to ascertain diligently the actual produce of the land by inspecting every field under cultivation, (2) to examine the condition of peasants and (3) to compare the revenue rates which prevailed during the last ten years.⁵ The investigation being completed, the *amin* was required to prepare a detailed account of assessed revenue for the whole *fasli* year, showing the amount fixed separately for *rabi* (spring) and *kharif* (autumn) harvests. In making the annual assessment he was required to display the qualities of prudence, humanity and farsightedness which would ultimately result in the prosperity of peasants and increase in state revenues.⁶ He should then hand over the *qaulnama* called *patta*⁷ to the *ra'iyat* and obtain from them the *qabuliyat*; and he should abide by the terms of agreement. He was to get the *tumar-jama'*-

4. For a detailed description of the Amin's functions and duties, *vide*, Anand Ram bin Haranand, *Siyaq Nama*, Asafia. lib. Ms. No. 850. ff. 22-23, *khulasat-us Siyaq*, f. 11. The accounts given in *Farhang-i Karadani*, Aligarh Ms. f. 29 and *Dastur-al 'amal-i Navis-indigi*, Add. 6599. ff. 153-154 are identical. Khawaja, Yasin's *Glossary*, Add. 6603, f. 46.

5. The technical term used for these revenue-rates was *muwazana-i dehsala* or *taqsim*. This was a record, maintained by the *qanungo* that contained detailed and accurate information regarding *jama'* figures, rates of assessment, kinds of crops and other agrarian conditions of the area. *Farhang-i Kardani*, f. 24a; Yasin's *Glossary*, f. 79a.

6. *Siyaq Nama*, *op. cit.*, f. 22b.

7. The *patta* or deed of lease was an official document which specified the area under cultivation and the amount of revenue the tillers were required to pay; on their part the *ra'iyat* pledged themselves to pay the stipulated amount, their agreement in writing was known as *qabuliyat*.

و قول نامه كه آن را پشه خوانند برعايا بدهد و قبوليت بگيرد و برقرار
خويش ثابت و مستعمل بوده باشد -

khulasat-us Siyaq, f. 11; *Farhang-i kardani*, f. 34; Firminger, *Fifth Report*, III, Glossary, 408b.

*bandi*⁸ signed by *Chaudhris*⁹, *qanungos*¹⁰, and *qazis*¹¹, and take *ta' ahhud*¹² for the realisation of land revenue in full. Further, it was his duty to despatch all registers, records and papers, furnishing minute information in regard to revenue affairs to the office of the *diwan*. For the promotion of agriculture he had orders (1) to increase the area of cultivation, (2) to assist the farmers financially¹³ and (3) to put oppression and injustice against peasants to an end.¹⁴

8. A register containing details of total assessment. Yasin's *glossary*, f. 57 ; Wilson's *glossary*, 527a.

9. "The (Chaudhri) was at once the agent of government, the head farmer and natural representative of the people". This was a permanent and hereditary office. He was responsible for collection of the land revenue. He received commission both in cash and land for services rendered to government. *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 293. Big *Zimindars* in Bengal assumed the title of *Chaudhri*; Bishan Singh, grandson of Norayan Singh, a zamindar of Sirskhena, possessed this title. "A person, who settled in the *pargana*, performed service efficiently, made the village prosperous and paid the revenues regularly and received *nankar* was called *choudhri*. After the death of Farrukh Siyar (1719) the title of *Choudhri*, became common. "*Persian Revenue Records of Bengal*, add. 6586, f. 122. *Fifth Report*, III, p. 22. In the Deccan the *Chaudhri* was called by the designation of *Deshmukh*. One document, dated September, 1735, in Hyderabad Collection, refers to the position and privileges of a *deshmukh*. Namaji Jai Ram son of Raghunath Rao, *deshmukh* of *Pargana* in *sarkar* Nander, *Subah* Bidar, submitted a petition that the *watan* (Office) of *deshmukh* had been held by his ancestors in the past. He requested that *sanad* for his *watan* should be issued, and customary perquisites including village *Salampate*, as revenue free in *in'am*, should be granted to him. He, in return, pledged to deposit Rs. 11 thousands, the half of which was Rs. 5500/, in accordance with instalments as specified below, into the government treasury. He will make efforts for the extension of cultivation and increase in population ; and he will be the friend and well-wisher of peasantry. P. Saran, *The Provincial Government of the Mughals*, pp. 458-460.

Watan is defined a district or village office with revenue and police powers and emoluments attached to it. Wilson's *Glossary*, 557a.

10. Like *Chaudhri* he was appointed by government. He could be dismissed for his mal-practices or dereliction of duties. His office was, too, hereditary. His main business was record-keeping. "The *qanungo* was the permanent repository of information concerning the revenue receipts, area statistics, local revenue rates, and practices and customs of the *pargana*." He maintained revenue-records like *muwazana-i-dihsala*, or accounts of previous assessments. *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, pp. 288-290 ; *Fifth Report*, III *Glossary* p. 9a.

11. For discussion of the *qazi's* powers and duties, vide. *The Provincial Government of the Mughals* pp. 340-41. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Supplement text, p. 184.

12. It meant an agreement bond in connection with the realisation of dues. It was a written undertaking given by *karori* or any prospective official in charge of collection, promising that he would collect the state dues. Yasin's *Glossary*, f. 55a.

13. *Khulasat-us-Siyaq*, f. 11.

14. It was the duty of the *amin* to advance money termed *taqavi* loans to peasants who could not purchase seed, cattle, and take from them *tamassuk* (bond) for the repayment of money. *Siyaq Nama*, op. cit., ff. 22b. 23a.

Faujdar

The *faujdar*, appointed by a royal *farman*, was charged with the responsibility of maintaining law and order in the *sarkar* (district). He worked under the direct control of the provincial governor. He commanded a military force which he could use, subject to certain conditions, to suppress the local rebels and unruly elements. The safety of roads and highways was his prime concern. He was to employ himself diligently and constantly in chastising and punishing thieves and robbers. He also dealt with matters relating to the military establishment of his district. Being the head of the district police he exercised supervision over the numerous police stations set up by government in villages and *parganas*. He issued instructions to *thanadars* (police-superintendents) to prevent the exaction of illegal cesses. He had strict orders to forbid the manufacturing of guns and ammunition and stop the construction of new forts and the repair of the old ones by the *zamindars*. In addition, it was his duty to assist the revenue-collecting authorities, a *jagirdar* or *karori* of the *khalisa*, when called upon to do so with his troops against *zortalab* (seditious) *zamindars* who refused to pay the land-revenue. But he was advised to first persuade them to give up their rebellious conduct and cooperate with local authorities. If peaceful methods failed, he could then carry out military operations and compel the malcontents to pay the dues. In his actions he should be careful and cautious. Under all circumstances, the *raiza ri'aya* (small peasantry) were to be protected.¹⁵

Shiqqdar

From the specimen of a *dastak*,¹⁶ recorded in *dastur-al'amal* 'Alamgiri',¹⁷ the *shiqqar* appears to have been an officer of subor-

15. For details of *faujdar*'s functions and duties, vide *Siyaq Nama* op. cit., ff. 52-54. *Insha'i Harkarn*, Aligarh Ms. f. 123, 178; *Hidayat-ul ul-qawwa'id*, f. 16; *The Provincial Government of the Mughals*, pp. 229-231.

16. *Dastak* was a permit issued in the name of certain officials in regard to appointment and payment of cash salaries. It also served the purpose of travelling passport.

17. Rieu, Add. 6599. f. 186b.

dinate rank in the *pargana* government.¹⁸ He is especially responsible for the enforcement of revenue collection and development of land. His power and duties as laid down in the *dastak* referred to are summarised below.

Whereas the service of *shiqqdar* of the said *pargana* has been conferred on Kishn Charan Das, who bears the emblem of honour, the *chaudhris*, *qanungos*, *muqaddams*,¹⁹ *ri'aya* and *mazari'an* must look upon him as the permanent and lawful *shiqqdar*. They must not act contrary to his prudent opinion and decisions which may be necessary for the gain of government and prosperity of peasants; and in achieving these two particular ends he shall exert his utmost. He is directed to perform his duties with integrity and honesty, and to keep tillers and all other subjects contented and satisfied by his commendable conduct. It is vitally important that he should adopt such measures which may contribute to make the place more prosperous and populous. Further, he shall insist on the payment of *malwajib* (land revenue) in full and see to it that the amount so collected was carefully deposited into the public treasury. Further-

18. *Khulasat-us-Siyah*, ff. 91b-94a. Khawaja Yasin writes, "*Shiqqdar* is that officer whom an '*amil* sends in advance as his deputy to manage the affairs of a place which he has acquired in *ijarah*. When the '*amil* comes and takes charge of his office, he appoints the *shiqqdar* at the *Cutchery* (Court) where he performs the duty of summoning the plaintiff and defendant. The *shiqqdar* also demands from the *zamindars* to deposit the money, and he, according to orders from the '*amil*, summons the farmers. *Glossary*, f. 67b. "The principal agent employed by the *jagirdar* was the '*amil* also known as *shiqqdar*." *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 284. *Shiqqdar* was a revenue officer appointed by a landholder (a *taluqdar*) in a non-*zamindari* area, generally a large *pargana* consisting of 4 to 5 villages, to exercise supervision over 3 to 4 *Ehtamamdars* charged with the realisation of a stipulated revenue. *Tarafdar* was also called *Ehtamamdar*.

چنانچه جائیکہ زمیندار نباشد بنابر سربراه مالگذاری اهتمام دار مقرر می
شود و اگر پرگنه کلان است بر سه چهار اهتمام دار یک شقدار معین
میکرد . . . طرفدار که آنرا اهتمام دار نیز گویند .

Risala-i-zira'at, Edinburagh Ms. No. 144, p. 8.

19. *Muqaddam* was the village headman, primarily responsible for the collection of revenue from each individual peasant. "For this service he was remunerated either through being assigned $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ of the assessed land of the village, to be held by him revenue free or through deduction of $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ from the total revenue collected by him." *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 130 ; *Fifth Report*, III, *Glossary*, 31b ; *Wilson's Glossary*, 351b.

more, he shall keep under his charge the outstanding balance due from the *pargana* and recover it in the next season. He shall not let any one enhance or reduce the fixed revenue due from the *ra-iyat* by a single *dam*. No amount of money, without a valid *sanad*, shall be spent by him. He shall forbid the imposition of illegal cesses within the limits of his jurisdiction.²⁰

Amin-Faujdar

The author of *Khulasat-us-siyag* writes that Sa'dullah Khan, the *Wazir* of Shah Jahan, created a new territorial division, called *Chakla*, that comprised a number of *mahals*, and appointed an officer under the designation of *amin-faujdar*. He exercised chief controlling authority over the *Chakla* and performed functions in the areas of revenue and police administration.²¹ However, this arrangement does not seem to have continued in the 18th century. During the reign of Muhammad Shah there was only a *faujdar* in *chakla*²² to discharge the duty of enforcing law and order. For instance, Khair Andesh Khan held the post of *faujdar* of *chakla* Bareilly, Hashmat Khan of *chakla* Saharanpur and Sabit Khan of *chakla* Sikandrabad.²³ In Bengal, too, there were *faujders*, charged with the administration of Murshidabad, Burdwan and Madnipur.²⁴ Again, in Gujarat, the administration of a *sarkar* was placed under the control of a *faujdar*. Saiyid Rustum 'Ali Khan and 'Abdul Hamid Khan held the *faujdar* of *sarkar* Baroda and *sarkar* Surat respectively.²⁵ Even in the

20. There is also a copy of *hazirzamani*, or a written bond for personal appearance, given on behalf of Kishn Charan Das, by Dhani Ram son of Nand Ram. He stated, "I solemnly pledge and give this in writing that if the above named *shiqqdar* becomes absent and does not turn up, I shall make him appear; but if at any time I am not able to produce him, I shall be responsible for the consequences". *Dastur-al-'amal*, f. 187.

21. *Khulasat-us-Siyag*, f. 17. also, I. H. C. P. Jabalpur, 1970, vol. I, P. 368.

22. Khawaja Yasin has distinguished *chakla* from *sarkar* by the number of *parganas* each of them was composed of. According to him *chakla* was a unit of 21 *parganas* while *sarkar* had 60 to 70 *parganas*. *Glossary*, ff. 58a, 66b, Verelst, in the glossary of his book, "View of the Rise, Progress and Present State of the British Government has defined *Chakla* as the jurisdiction of a *faujdar* who received the rent from a *zamindar*. p. 2. The contemporary writers have used the terms of *chakla* and *sarkar* so loosely that they appear identical. Wilson's *Glossary* 98a, 466a.

23. *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, f. 242; *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, p. 76.

24. *Persian Revenue Documents of Bengal*, ff. 54a, 61a, 63a, 67a.

25. *Mirat-i Ahmadi*, II. p. 37.

Deccan, Asaf Jah appointed only *faujdar* to carry on the administration of a *sarkar*. The names of Hafiz-ud-din Khan, *faujdar* of Sikakol, Agha Mu'in of *sarkar* Mustafanagar, Talib Muhaiy-ud-din of *sarkar* Firoznagar may be mentioned by way of illustration.²⁶ But in the province of Gujarat there was an *amin-faujdar* who performed the double functions of *amin* and *faujdar* in the *pargana*. For instance, Muhammad Ieraj was the *amin-faujdar* of *pargana* Dholqa, Jawanmard Khan of *pargana* Patlad and Abdullah Beg of Bahroch.²⁷

Shakir Khan has recorded in his *Tarikh* a draft specimen of *parwana* for the appointment of one Mir Muhammad Ma'asum as *amin-faujdar* in *sarkar* Qannuj. His executive functions were the very same which were vested separately in the offices of *amin* and *faujdar*.²⁸ The draft specimen of *khidmat* (service), given in *Nigar Nama-i-Munshi*, shows that the *amin-faujdar* could work in the *jagir-mahals* of *sarkar* Qannuj as *faujdar*, while holding at the same time the post of *amin* (assessor) in the *pargana* of Nagina. This officer was empowered to try cases in consultation with *arbab-i 'adalat* (Judicial authorities) on principles of *shar'*. He was required to assist the *'amil* in all matters that directly concerned the revenue administration.²⁹

There also existed the post of *faujdar-amin-shiqqdar* as is indicated by a *parwana* of such a particular appointment. The jurisdiction of this officer was confined to the *jagir-mahals* of *sarkar* Sambhal in the province of Delhi. He was invested with no controlling authority over the process of assessment or collection of the land revenue. He performed only police functions, such as preservation of peace and suppression of crime. The *sanad* states that in the settlement, control and administration of the *jagir-mahals* the officer should strive hard and perform his functions with wisdom, care and forbearance. It is imperative that he should take stern action against the rebels and malcontents and destroy their forts. When the *muqaddams* of villages

26. Muhammad Mahmud Junaidi, *Hiyat-i Asafi*, pp. 365-239.

27. *Mirat-i Ahmadi*, II, pp. 88, 91, 105.

28. Shakir Khan, *Tarikh-i Shakir Khan*, add. 6585, f. 140.

29. His varied functions included:—(1) settlement of *mahals*, (2) administration of *thanas*, (3) security of roads and highways, (4) extension of agriculture, (5) increase in the land revenue and in the population of the villages, (6) making arrangements for the safe despatch of treasury to the imperial headquarters, and (7) forbidding the imposition of illegal cesses. For details, *Vide, Nigar Nama-i Munshi*, Aligarh, MS. ff. 123-124.

in these *mahals* created disorders, he was authorised to arrest some of them, and try to conciliate them so that they may feel ashamed of their action and agree to pay the revenue and promote the welfare of the *ra'iyat*. If his advice fell on deaf ears, he was free to march on the *mauza*³⁰ and plunder it. In case the effects of any one were stolen or plundered, he shall take pains to discover and produce the robbers together with goods, and deliver the goods to the owner and punish the culprits.³⁰

Procedure of Appointment in the Deccan

Before analysing the documents the procedure adopted in connection with the appointment of *Pargana* officers has to be explained. First, the clerk of the revenue department wrote a proposal in the name of the prospective candidate and submitted it to the *diwan* for his orders. The appointment having already been decided by the high authority, the *diwan* made an endorsement at the top or below by writing 'approved.' After obtaining the approval of the *diwan*, the office next prepared another statement giving the names of *mahals*, the amount of revenues to be collected from them; on the margin of the paper the clerk also specified the amount of money which his predecessor received in salary. The *diwan*, before whom this paper was again placed, wrote at its top, *sanad bidihand*, "issue the *sanad*"; in regard to salary he ordered that the officer shall receive the same salary which his predecessor enjoyed. Then the candidate was required to write a *muchalka* or undertaking, engaging himself to discharge the duties of the office conferred upon him. In the end, the surety bond for personal appearance was executed on his behalf by some responsible person, generally by his own *wakil* (agent). This repeated the description much in the same form as given in the *muchalka*. Thus there is a set of four documents in the collection pertaining to the appointment of an officer to the post of *amin-faujdar-shiqqdar*. The first is the proposal made by the office; the second deals with the formal sanction for the issuance of *sanad*. The third is the *muchalka* written by the nominee himself; and the fourth is the surety bond executed on his behalf by some responsible

30. Jawahar Nath Bikas, *Dastur-al 'amal*, Aligarh, Ms. p. 15. One specimen *parwana*, given in *Dastur-al-'amal-i 'ilm-i Navisindigi*, ff. 194-195, shows that one single officer could be assigned with the duties of the *amin*, *shiqqdar*, *karkun* and *faujdar* in the *jagir-mahals*.

person for personal appearance. The same procedure was followed in the appointment of other *pargana* officers like, *karkun*, *fotahdar* and *waqa'-i-nigar*.

DOCUMENTS

Documents relating to the post of amin-faujdar-shiqqdar

I (a) Let the *sanad* be issued.

Muhammad Qasim has been appointed to the post of *amanat-faujdar-shiqqdari*, after the transfer of Fazil Beg, of *pargana* Ibrahim Pattan etc., *mahals* in *sarkar* Devarkanda, *subah* Hyderabad. What is order for issuing the *sanad*?

3 *mahals* standard *jama'* Rs. 16600/4/6

(b) *badastur-i-ma'zul*

in accordance with the rate sanctioned to the displaced.

The service of *amanat-faujdar-shiqqdari* of *pargana* Ibrahim Pattan etc. *mahals* in *sarkar* Devarkanda, *subah* Hyderabad, has been conferred on Muhammad Qasim after the transfer of Fazil Beg. What is the order for issuing the *sanad* in regard to the expenses of *sih-bandi*³¹, bullets, gunpowder, provisions, repair of fortress³², *khila'it* for *zamindars*³³, and *madad-kharch*³⁴, excluding the expenditure to be incurred in the collection of *chauth*³⁵, one-fifth of the revenue collec-

31. The troops known as *sih-bandi* were employed by the revenue collectors to enforce the collection of dues. They took in service horse and foot during harvest season and dismissed at the approach of the rainy season. Yasin's *Glossary*, f. 66a.

32. This shows clearly that this particular officer held the fort under his charge. But there are documents in our collection which indicate that there existed a separate post of *qal'adar* in the Deccan.

33. A robe of honour which the officer conferred on the *zamindars* at the time of annual assessment. *Fifth Report*, III, *Glossary* p. 25.

34. Wilson has defined *madad-kharch*, "Charitable expenses, sums to help others", p. 314b. But the term *madad kharch* or *madadkar* as used in other documents, refers to sums which he spent in securing assistance from petty servants.

35. "It was a kind of deduction which was made especially from the pay of the *mansabdar* who held *jagirs* in the Deccan and amounted to one-fourth of the total estimated income of the *mansabdars*". *Selected Documents of Shah Jahan's Reign*, pp. 2, 22, 88; *Selected Documents of Aurangzeb's Reign*, pp. 8, 120, 126, 144 ;

ted was sanctioned to his predecessor to defray the expenses of *sih-bandi*.

3 *mahals* standard *jama'* Rs. 16600/-

(c) Muhammad Sadr-ud-din stood surety for personal appearance as well as payment of pecuniary obligation on behalf of Muhammad Qasim.

(d) On the top of the copy of *muchalka*, given in writing by the officer himself, the words '*manzur darand* (may be sanctioned) are written. Muhammad Qasim also held the post of *tehsildar* of *chauth*, discharging the duty of collecting *chauth* from the *jagirdars* of these three *mahals*, whose assessed *jama'* was Rs. 3199/4 annas, and he received seven rupees per hundred as commission for the service.

II (a) Let the *sanad* be issued

The service of *amanat-faujdari-shiqqdari* of sarkar Masulipatam etc. *mahals* in *subah* Hyderabad, after the transfer of Khawaja Arab Khan, has been conferred on 'Ajab Singh. What is the order for issuing the *sanad* ?

Dated 26 Muharram 1145 H./18 July 1732.

5 *mahals* standard *jama'* Rs. 737219/12/6

(b) Copy of a *muchalka*

seal of 'Ajab Singh

May be sanctioned

I, the slave of sublime court, 'Ajab Singh, declare that whereas the service of *amanat-faujdari-shiqqdari*, of sarkar Masulipatam etc., *mahals* in *subah* Hyderabad, has been conferred on me by favour, after the transfer of 'Arab Khan, I pledge that I shall spare no efforts in enforcing laws and rules regarding the service entrusted to me and I shall strive hard to discharge my duties with honesty, integrity, care and wisdom, I shall further endeavour to keep the *ra'iyat* satisfied and contented with my good conduct, promote agriculture and increase the population of *mahals* within my jurisdiction. The settlement of land revenue will be effected in such a manner that the cultivators should secure half portion of it while the remainder half should come into the possession of government. The land-

revenue will be collected in full and not a single *dam* will be left unpaid by the peasant. The amount collected from all sources shall be deposited in the local treasury under my seal, and the *fotahdar* shall put his lock on the door of the treasury house. Without the prior order of the government I shall spend not a single *dam*. I shall try my utmost to protect the helpless, guard the highways, chastise the rebels, forbid the manufacturing of guns and destroy forts of the malcontents. I shall send to the office of the *diwan* the relevant papers and records including the rent-roll, prepared in accordance with rules. I have, therefore, written these few sentences in the form of *muchalka* so that it may be of use when required.

(c) May be sanctioned

Shaikh Muhammad 'Adil, a government servant stood surety for personal appearance on behalf of 'Ajab Singh, appointed to the post of *amin-faujdar-shiqqdar* of *mahals* in *sarkar* Masulipatam.

The document bears the seal of Shaikh Muhammad 'Adil; and it is dated 22 July 1732.

III

Seal of Mir Sharif Khan,
obedient servant of Muham-
mad Shah *badshah ghazi*,
1142 H.

Copy of a *Muchalka* written by Mir Sharif Khan. May be sanctioned

I, Mir Muhammad Sharif Khan, the slave of the sublime court, have been appointed *amin-faujdar-shiqqdar*, of pargana Charkanda *sarkar* Devarkand in *subah* Hyderabad. I pledge that I shall assess the revenue of the *pargana* after inspecting the cultivated fields and the available produce in every village and investigating the conditions of the *ra'iyat* with knowledge and wisdom. The assessment shall be effected in such a way that half of the produce should go to the cultivators and the remainder half be taken by the government. The rent-roll, carefully prepared, will be signed by *deshmukhs* and *desais* and sealed by the *qazis*. I shall keep the money so collected from the *pargana* under my custody and seal; the *fotahdar* shall fasten his lock to the door of the treasury house. Without a valid *sanad* I shall spend not a single *dam*. With vigour and tact I shall devote myself to the settlement of revenues, administration

and control of the *pargana*, chastisement of rebels and highway robbers. I shall see to it that the revenues due from the *pargana* should be realised in full and not a single *dam* is left unpaid. I shall send to the office of the *diwan* relevant records and papers containing details of collection and expenditure for every day and month.

Dated

1 November 1729

IV (a) Shaikh Lutfullah has been appointed *amin-faujdar-shiqqdar* of *pargana* Hajuli *sarkar* Muzaffarnagar *subah* Bidar after the transfer of Saiyid Faiz Ali Khan. What is the order for writing a *sanad* regarding the expenses of *sih-bandi*, bullets, gunpowder, provisions, repair of fortress, *khila'it* of *zamindars* and *madad-kharch*.

standard *jama'*, Rs. 331699/2 annas

The rate of deduction allowed to Faiz 'Ali Khan, the former '*amil*', in accordance with the *sanad*, are as follows:—

in 1140 F./1732

fourth part for *sih-bandi*

in 1141 F./1733

one part will go to the government and two parts will be defrayed in *sih-bandi*

On the top of the document is noted,

in 1143

half

in 1144

one-fourth in *sih-bandi* and other expenses.

(b) Copy of *muchalka* written by Shaikh Lutfullah son of Shaikh Asadullah.

Seal of Lutfullah

As the service of *amanat*, *faujdari* and *shiqqdari* of *pargana* Hajuli, *sarkar* Muzaffarnagar in *subah* Mahmudabad, after the transfer of Saiyid Faiz 'Ali Khan, has been conferred on me, I, therefore, give in writing that I shall make vigours and determined efforts in enforcing rules and laws pertaining to the service entrusted to me. I shall discharge my duties with honesty and integrity; I shall strive hard to promote agriculture and increase the population of these

mahals. The assessment of land-revenue shall be made on the basis of fifty-fifty share of the produce between government and *ra'iyat*.³⁶

V (a) Ghulam Chishti Khan has been appointed *amin-faujdar-shiqqdar of mahals* in *sarkar* Elkandal in *pargana* Raj Gopalpur, *sarkar* Malngore, after the transfer of Mir Muhammed 'Ali Khan. What is the order for sanctioning the amount of money with regard to the expenses of *sih-bandi*, bullets, gunpowder, repair of fortress, *khila'it* for *zamindars*, *madad-kharch*, excluding the expenditure to be incurred in the collection of *chauth*.

20 *mahals*

standard *jama'* Rs. 1141476/15/3

(b) Copy of *muchalka* written by Ghulam Chishti Khan.

(c) Jamal-ud-din Khan, son of Shahab-ud-din Khan, a government servant, stood surety for personal appearance on behalf of Ghulam Chishti Khan. The document bears the seal of Jamal-ud-din Khan and is dated 21 September 1730.

Ghulam Chishti Khan, in addition to the above post, was also charged with the task of collecting *chauth* from the *mahals* of *jagirdars* in *pargana haveli* Elkandal, after the transfer of Mir Muhammad 'Ali Khan. He was allowed a deduction of 7% from the revenue receipts to meet the expenses of *sih-bandi*.

VI (a) Anwar-ud-din Khan, 'amil of Sikakol

Seal of Anwar-ud-din Khan

May be sanctioned

Muchalka in the form of *qabuliyat*

Whereas the service of 'amil of *sarkar* Sikakol in the *subah* of Hyderabad with effect from *kharif* 1136 H/1724 has been conferred on me, I solemnly pledge that I shall deposit the amount of Rs. 35,000/- on all accounts according to instalments in the government treasury. I shall bring the amount upto the border of Masulipatam. Half of the amount of revenues due from the dismissed 'amil I shall spend on the maintenance of *sih-bandi* corps; the remaining half of revenues,

36. The *amin* was directed to follow this principle in making the assessment. *khulasat-us-siyag*, f. 11.

which is the share of the government, I shall collect and remit to the treasury. I have, therefore, written this *muchalka* in the form of *qabuliyat*.

(b) Surety bond for the payment of money (*malzamni*) by Bolaqidas, *wakil* of Anwar-ud-din Khan

Seal of Bolaqidas-1136 H.

May be sanctioned

Whereas the principal (Anwar-ud-din Khan) has been appointed *amin-faujdar* of *sarkar* Sikakol, the *ta'ahhud* (agreement) for the payment of Rs. 350001/8/- is written. I, Bolaqidas, *wakil* of Anwar-ud-din Khan (principal), pledge that the above mentioned amount, as agreed upon and written under the seal of the principal, will be paid. According to the terms of agreement the payment will not include the expenses for sending *hundees* (bills of exchange) and maintaining *sih-bandi* troops. The total amount of Rs. 7 lakhs, payable in two years, will be remitted within the period of three months when demanded.³⁷

(c) Account of Receipt and Expenditure

sarkar Sikakol, 1136 F./1727-28

Collection made by the officer from 21 *Rabi 'ul-awwal* to the end of *Zilhaj* 1139 H./November 1726 / August 1727

Seal of Anwar-ud-din Khan

Rs. 366575/5/3

arrears in 1134 F./1725-26 and in 1135 F./1726-27.

Rs. 33150/10/6

1136 F./1727-28

Rs. 16575/5/3

Rs. 3 lakhs 50 thousands

half for *sih-bandi*

remainder Rs. 16575/5/3

VII The *wakil* of Shaikh Muhammad 'Ali, son of Anwar-ud-din Khan submitted a petition to the effect that the service of *amanat*, *faujdari*, *shiqqdari* and *qal'adari* of *sarkars* Ellore and Rajmundry was conferred on the principal with effect from the beginning of

37. This document shows that the 'amil of a *sarkar* could be called *amin-faujdar*.

1740 after the resignation of Anwar-ud-din Khan. The sum of Rs. 50 thousands per month for the maintenance of *sih-bandi* corps and other contingents was paid to Rustum Khan, his predecessor. Anwar-ud-din Khan held Sikakol, in addition to Ellore and Rajmundry, under his charge. The clerks of the revenue department reduced the amount by ten thousand rupees and issued the *sanad* of appointment. Anwar-ud-din Khan spent the income derived from his *jagirs* to meet the expenses of the troops employed in these areas. But this proved inadequate; and consequently, no revenues sufficient to make the loss good could be collected. Administration without the army is impossible. Everywhere the *zamindars*, having gathered their forces, are creating disturbances. It is hoped that an amount of 60 thousand rupees will be sanctioned in connection with the *sih-bandi* expenses.

29 February, 1740

VIII (a) Let the *sanad* be issued

Ibrahim Khan has been appointed *amin-faujdar-shiqqdar* of *mahals* in *sarkar* Khemmat etc. in the *subah* of Hyderabad after the transfer of Hasan Munawwar Khan. What is the order for issuing the *sanad* ?

10 *mahals*

8 November 1732

(b) one-fourth for *sih-bandi* is sanctioned

Let the *sanad* be issued

Ibrahim Yar Khan has been appointed *amin-faujdar-shiqqdar* of *mahals* in *sarkar* Khemmat in *subah* Hyderabad. What is the order for issuing the *sanad* in regard to the expenses of *sih-bandi*, bullets, gunpowder, provision, repair of fortress, *khila'it* for *zamindars*, *madad-kharch*, etc. ?

10 *mahals*

November 1732

Rs. 586125/3/-

His predecessor received one-third of the amount to meet the expenses of *sih-bandi*.

(c) May be sanctioned

seal of Ibrahim Yar Khan

Muchalka by Ibrahim Khan

6 December 1732

(d) Seal of Saiyid Shamsud-din Khan, *fidvi* of Asaf Jah

Shams-ud-din Khan stood surety for personal appearance on behalf of Ibrahim Khan.

IX (a) Let the *sanad* be issued

according to the rate of deduction sanctioned to the displaced.

Rustum Khan was appointed *amin-faujdar-shiqqdar* in the *pargana haveli* Mustafanagar, *mahals* of *subah* Hyderabad after the transfer of Tola Ram. What is order for issuing *sanad* in regard to the expenditure of *sih-bandi* etc. ?

September 1732

16 *mahals*

Standard *jama'* Rs. 619666/15/3

His predecessor, Tola Ram, was allowed a deduction of 1/5 from the revenue receipts to meet the expenses of *sih-bandi*.

(b) His *wakil* Dayal Das wrote the *muchalka* on behalf of Tola Ram. It bears the seal of Dayal Das and is dated 29 September 1732.

(c) 'Aziz-ul-Lah, son of Karim-ul-Lah stood surety for personal appearance on behalf of Tola Ram. It bears the seal of Aziz-ul-Lah.

16 *mahals*

September 1732

X Haji 'Abdul Karim Beg was appointed to the post of *amin-faujdar-shiqqdar*, after the transfer of Mir Muhammad Sharif Khan in *pargana haveli* Nalganda, *mahals* in *sarkar* Hyderabad.

6 *mahals*

Standard *jama'* Rs. 495452/15

14 December 1733

In the first year he was allowed a deduction of one-fourth of total revenue collection to bear the expenditure of *sih-bandi*. His predecessor received one-fifth from the revenue receipts.

Shah Muhammad Beg, *jama'dar*, stood surety for personal appearance on his behalf.

XI Bahadur Beg Khan was appointed *amin-faujdar-shiqqdar* in *pargana haveli* of Mahmudnagar, *subah* Hyderabad, after the transfer of Balkishan.

18 *mahals*

Standard *jama'* Rs. 666506/14/6

Ranmast Khan, son of 'Ali Khan, *jama'dar*, stood surety on his behalf.

1153 H./1740-41

XII 'Ali Quli Khan was appointed *amin-faujdar-shiqqdar*, after the death of Hasan Quli Khan, *haveli* Mustafanagar, *sarkar* Masulipattam.

18 *mahals*

Standard *jama'* Rs. 666508/14/6

115/H./1738-39

*Documents relating to the post of karkun:*³⁸

I (a) Proposal for the appointment of Kishan Chand, after the transfer of Kunwar Sen, to the post of *karkun* in *pargana* Hajuli, *subah* Bidar.

Approved.

(b) Kishan Chand has been appointed *karkun* in *pargana* Hajuli after the transfer of Kunwar Sen. What is the order for writing the *sanad* ?

6 *mahals*

standard *jama'* Rs. 463059/5

22 August 1735.

(c) Copy of *muchalka* written by Kishan Chand.....
I shall prepare a statement of daily account of receipts and disbursements, *siyaha* and other records according to prescribed rules and

38. The *karkun* occupied a subordinate position in the administrative hierarchy of *pargana* provided in the Deccan. The term of *karkun* has been used in the administrative manuals as a synonym for *bitikchi*. The *a'in-i bitikchi* lays down "...and at the close of each harvest he shall record the collections and balances of each village and compare them with the *patwari's*, and enter each day in the ledger the receipts and disbursements under each name and heading, and authenticate it by the signature of the collector and treasurer. At the end of the month, he shall enclose it in a bag under the seal of the collector and forward it to the presenceand at the end of each harvest, he shall take the receipts and disbursements of the treasurer and forward it authenticated by his signature", *A'in-i Akbari*, tr. Jarrett, II pp. 51-52.

The main duty of the *karkun* was to collect *malwajib* (land-revenue) according to specified instalments and deposit the amount into the public treasury. The papers which he was required to send to the court included (1) *arsatta* (a monthly treasury account of receipts and disbursements made up from the daily entries), (2) *jama' kharch* (statement of receipts and disbursement) (3) *tafriq kharch* (apportionment of the assessment) and (4) *baz' i-kharch* (Miscellaneous expenses). *Dastur-al-'amal 'Alamgir*, ff. 187, 188. For definition of terms, vide. Wilson's *Glossary*, 32b, 69b, 499a. Nigar *Nama Munshi*, p. 136 ; *Dastur-al-'amal Bikas*, pp. 21, 22.

procedure for every harvest. I shall send all these papers at the end of every season to the office of the *diwan*. The money collected every day shall be deposited in the treasury under the seals of *amin* and *darogah*; the *fotahdar* shall put his lock on the door of the treasury house over which I shall keep vigilant watch. I shall send the progress report of collections every month. Without the written authority I shall not spend a single *dam*.

(d) *hazir zamni*

Shaikh Muhammad 'Azam, son of Shaikh 'Abdul Samad, a government servant, executed the bond of surety for personal appearance on behalf of Kishan Chand. The seal on the document contains the words *ism-i-'azam* (اسم اعظم) and is dated 1148 H./1735-36.

II (a) Proposal (*tajweez*) about the appointment of Raj Roop to the post of *karkun* in the *pargana haveli* Devarkanda, the *subah* of Hyderabad.

26 October 1735

approved

(b) Raj Roop, son of Ram Roop has been appointed *karkun* in the *pargana haveli* of Devarkanda, *sarkar* Devarkanda, *subah* Hyderabad. What is the order for issuing the *sanad*.

Let the *sanad* be issued.

6 *mahals*

Twenty rupees per month

standard *jama'*

which his predecessor received as salary.

Rs. 440280/14/3

(c) Copy of *muchalka* written by Raj Roop.

27 October 1735

(d) Saiyid 'Ala-ul-Lah Qadri, son of Saiyid 'Abdullah executed the bond of surety for personal appearance on behalf of Raj Roop.

27 October 1735

III May be sanctioned

Copy of *muchalka*, written by Kordas, the *karkun*, As I, Kordas son of Satak Das, have been appointed *karkun* of *pargana sarkar* Devarkanda, *subah* Hyderabad, I pledge to perform my duties with honesty and integrity and enforce rules and laws in connection with the discharge of these duties. I shall prepare the statements and accounts of every day income and other papers at every harvest according to rules. I shall send these records and papers every month to the office of revenue ministry. I shall treat the *ra'iyat* and other subjects kindly.

IV (a) Proposal for the appointment of Sahej Singh to the post of *karkun* in the *mahals* of *sarkar* Masulipatam, *subah* Hyderabad, after the transfer of Haridas. Approved.

(b) Sahej Singh has been appointed *karkun* in the *mahals* of *sarkar* Masulipatam, *subah* Hyderabad. What is the order for issuing the *sanad* in respect of his salary?

7 mahals

26 May 1733

Formerly his predecessor received the salary of Rs. 25 per month including *madadkar*.

(c) May be sanctioned

Copy of *muchalka* written by Sahej Singh, son of Lal Chand.

7 June 1733

(d) Saiyid Hamal, *karkun* in *pargana*

Ellore, stood surety for the personal appearance of Sahej Singh.

The details of *jama'* are given below:

Sarkar Nizampatam

2 mahals Rs. 246000/-

Sarkar Masulipatam

5 mahals Rs. 491229/12/-

V Todarmal, son of Hajmal, was appointed *karkun* in *mahals* of *pargana* Elkandal, *subah* Hyderabad.

(a) 10 mahals

18 January 1730

standard *jama'*

Rs. 1141467/15/3

Rs. 25/- per month was fixed in salary.

(b) Copy of *muchalka* written by Todarmal

(c) Balja Ram executed surety bond for personal appearance on behalf of Todarmal.

Documents relating to the post of fotahtar

I (a) Proposal for the appointment of Harprashad son of Sri Ram to the post of *fotahtar* in the *mahals* of *sarkar* Masulipatam, *subah* Hyderabad, after the death of Subhan Ray.

Approved

5 *mahals*

standard *jama'*

Rs. 737219/12

(b) Let the *sanad* be issued

Harprashad has been appointed *fotahtar* in the *mahals* of *sarkar* Masulipatam, *subah* Hyderabad after the death of Subhan Ray. What is the order for issuing the *sanad*?

Rs. 20/- per month which his predecessor received. 22 June 1733

(c) *muchalka* (undertaking) written by Harprashad and attested with his own seal.

I, Harprashad, son of Sri Ram, solemnly pledge that I shall observe the rules and norms pertaining to the office which has been conferred on me. I shall discharge my duties with honesty and integrity and shall leave no stone unturned in performing the functions of office. I shall deposit the daily income in the treasury under the seal of *amin* and *darogha* and fasten my own lock to the door of treasury house. I shall maintain utmost vigilance on the treasury. I shall not spend a single *dam* without the written authority. If I do spend I shall be responsible for it.³⁹

5 *mahals*

1733

39. "The treasury should be located near the residence of the governor and the situation should be such where it is not liable to injury. He shall keep the treasure in a strong room with the knowledge of *shiqqdar* and cause a memorandum there to be signed by the collector and compare the day-ledger with the registrar's account and authenticate it by his signature." *A' in-i Akbari* tr. Jarret, Vol II, pp. 52-53. *Nigar Nama-i Munshi*, f. 138b.

(d) Sadanand, son of Ram Das, *fotahdar* of *pargana haveli* Ellore executed the bond of surety for the personal appearance of Harprashad.

Documents relating to the post of qala'dar:

I Let the *sanad* be written.

Khawaja Nurullah Khan, *qala'dar* of Rajmundry has submitted a petition to the effect that the amount of Rs. 130/- was fixed as monthly salary in the days of Mubariz Khan.⁴⁰ He requests that the *sanad* should be issued in this regard.

What is the order for writing the *sanad* about his salary, the date from which it will be paid and issuing the *parwana* to the '*amils* of *sarkar* Rajmundry in the *subah* of Hyderabad.

May 1727

Rs. 130/-

II Let the *sanad* be issued

Rs. 80 per month

Khawaja Zahur-ul-Lah and Khawaja Hazur-ul-Lah, sons of late Nur-ul-Lah, *qal'adar* of Rajmundry were made *mansabdars* of 200 *zat*. Their father received Rs. 130/- per month as *madad-kharch*. What is the order for writing the *sanad* of *qal'adari* in favour of Khawaja Zahur-ul-Lah and about the *madad kharch* of the two brothers.

24 December 1731

III May be sanctioned

Seal of Dayal Das

Muchalka was written by Dayal Das

I, Dayal Das, *Wakil* of Khawaja Zahur-ul-Lah, *qal'adar* of Rajmundry, submit that as, by favour, the service of *qal'adari* has been conferred on Khawaja Zahur-ul-Lah, under the signature of Asaf Jah, the clerks of the office of *diwan* do not issue the *sanad* without *muchalka*. I, therefore pledge that surety and *muchalka* on behalf of the principal shall be submitted in the said office within a period of two months. I have, therefore, written these few sentences in the form of *muchalka*.

26 December 1731

Documents relating to waqa'i Nigar

40. For biographical details of Mubariz Khan 'Imad-ul-Mulk, *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, text, III, pp. 729-746.

I (a) Proposal for the appointment of Shaikh Shahr-ul-Lah, son of Shaikh Muha'y-ud-din to the post of *Waqā'i-nigar* and *darogah-i-khazana* in *pargana* Elkandal, *subah* Hyderabad.

Approved.

(b) Let the *sanad* be issued

Shaikh Shahr-ul-Lah has been appointed, after the transfer of Mir Rahmat-ul-Lah, *waqā'i-nigar* and *darogah-i-khazana*, in *pargana* Elkandal, *subah* Hyderabad. What is the order for issuing *sanad*?

6 *mahals*

standard *jama'*

Rs. 470382/3/3

He would receive Rs. 13/- per month. The expenses of *harkara* will be included in *sih-bandi* which is the liability of the *'amil*.

(c) *Muchalka* of Shahr-ul-Lah

Seal of Shaikh Shahr-ul-Lah

As, by favour and benevolence, the service of *waqā'i-nigar* and *darogah-i-khazana* of *pargana* Elkandal, *subah* Hyderabad, has been conferred on me, I pledge that I shall make sustained efforts in observing rules and laws essential for the conduct of office, and I shall discharge my duties with honesty and integrity. I shall record in the diary every day detailed facts, about assessment and collection, disputes, and proceedings taking place in the *pargana*, together with my own explanatory notes without exaggeration. I shall not conceal any fact regarding illegal exactions imposed by the *'amils*, and I shall also enquire whether taxes like *havaladari*,⁴¹ *taraf-dari*,⁴² *talabana*⁴³ and *jarimana* are levied within the limits of my jurisdiction.

41. "A charge made to the villagers for the expense of subordinate revenue officers sent to watch or attach the crops." Wilson's *Glossary*, 204a.

42. *taraf*, lit. side, part, a subdivision of *pargana*, *tarafdar*, a revenue officer, and *trafdari* is the charge for this officer. Wilson's *Glossary*, 511a.

43. "Daily pay or fees to a subordinate officer of the court charged with serving process, issuing summons or writs, payable by the parties whom they are served." Wilson's *Glossary*, 504b.

tion. I shall prepare a report, without any alteration or omission, and submit it weekly to the court. I shall not expect or ask for any *dam* from any person. I have, therefore, written these few sentences in the form of *muchalka*.

October 1732

(d) Wasil Beg, son of 'Aqil Beg, stood surety on behalf of Shaikh Shahr-ul-Lah for his personal appearance.

November 1732

II (a) Proposal for the appointment of Haider Quli, son of 'Abdullah, after the transfer of Muhammad Shahab-ud-din to the post of *waqa'i-nigar* and *darogha-i-khazana* in *pargana haveli* Devarkanda, *subah* Hyderabad.

Approved.

(b) Let the *sanad* be issued.

Haider Quli, son of 'Abdullah, has been appointed, after the transfer of Muhammad Shahab-ud-din, *waqa'i-nigar* and *darogha-i-khazana* in *pargana haveli* Devarkanda, *subah* Hyderabad. What is the order for issuing the *sanad* ?

6 *mahals*

standard *jama'* Rs. 440280/14/3

Rs. 34/- per month as his salary

24 October 1735.

(c) *Muchalka* written by Haider Quli.

(d) Surety bond written by Mir Yasin Husain son of Mir Zia-ud-din Husain, a government servant, for personal appearance of Haider Quli, the *waqa'i-nigar* and *darogah-i-khazana*.

APPENDIX

Persian text of a few Documents

۱- سند نویسنده

محمد قاسم بخدمت امانت و فوجداری پرگنه ابراهیم پٹن وغیرہ
محالات سرکار دیورکنده صوبہ فرخنده بنیاد حیدرآباد از تغیر فاضل
بیگ ممتاز شده - در باب نوشتن سند خدمت هرچه امر -

۱۶ هزار روپیہ ۴ آنہ ۶ پائی کامل جمع ۳ محال

۲- بدستور معزول

محمد قاسم بخدمت امانت و فوجداری و شقداری پرگنه ابراهیم
پٹن وغیرہ محالات سرکار دیورکنده صوبہ فرخنده بنیاد حیدرآباد از
تغیر فاضل بیگ ممتاز شده - در باب نوشتن سند سه بندی مع سرب
و باروت و ذخیره و مرمت گڈھی و خلعت زمینداران و مدد خرچ
و جمیع اخراجات آنجا سوائے چوتھ از مال هرچه امر -

کامل جمع ۳ محال سابق حصہ پنجم سه بندی
۱۶ هزار روپیہ مقررہ بود

۳- سند نویسنده

محمد قاسم بخدمت تحصیلداری چوتھ جاگیرداران پرگنه ابراهیم
پٹن وغیرہ سرکار دیورکنده صوبہ فرخنده بنیاد حیدرآباد از تغیر
فاضل بیگ ممتاز شده در باب نوشتن سند هرچه امر -

کامل جمع ۳ محال حق تحصیل سربکصد
۱۶ هزار روپیہ روپیہ هفت روپیہ مقرر است

۳- سند بدهند

عجب سنگه بخدمت امانت و فوجداری و شقداری سرکار بندر
مچھلی پٹن وغیرہ محالات صوبہ فرخنده بنیاد حیدرآباد از تغیر خواجہ
عرب خان ممتاز شد۔ در باب نوشتن سند خدمت ہرچہ امر۔

۷ لاکھ ۳۷ ہزار ۲۱۹ روپیہ ۱۲ آنے ۶ پائی کامل
۲۶ محرم الحرام ۱۱۴۵ھ

منظور دارند



منکہ بندہ درگاہ عجب سنگه ام

۲۹ محرم ۱۱۴۵ھ

چون خدمت امانت و فوجداری و شقداری سرکار بندر مچھلی پٹن
وغیرہ محالات صوبہ فرخنده بنیاد حیدرآباد از تغیر خواجہ عرب خان
از راہ فضل و کرم بہ فدوی مقرر گشتہ اقرار می نمایم کہ بلاوزم
و مراسم خدمت مامورہ از قرار واقعی و از راستی و درستی پرداختہ
دقیقہ از دقائق حزم و ہوشیاری غیر مرعی نگذارم و رعایا را از
حسن و سلوک خود راضی و شاکر داشتہ در تکثیر زراعت و
افزونی آبادانی سعی فراوان نگاہ دارم و جمع بندی پرگنات کہ نصف
حصہ سالم برعایا شد و نصف در سرکار عاید کرد مشخص نمودہ
مالواجب.... بادام.... تحصیل در آورده نزد رعایا باقی نگذارم
و زریکہ ہمہ جہت تحصیل در آید داخل فوطہ خانہ نمودہ خزانہ
را سرمہر خود و قفل فوطہ دار نگاہ دارم و یکدام بے سند معتبر

حضور خرچ نکنم و در تنبیه و تادیب مفسدان و منع کردن از ساختن بندوق و انهدام گدّه ها مترددان و حفظ و حراست زیر دستان نوعی بکوشم که دزدان و طومار جمعبندی و سر رشته کاغذ موافق ضابطه بدفتر رسانم - بنا براین چند کلمه بطریق محملکه نوشته داده شد که ثانی الحال سند باشد -

۷ لاکه ۳ هزار ۲۱۹ روپیه ۱۲ آنے ۶ پائی سرکار
جمع کامل ۵ محل

منظور دارند

۱۱۴۲
باجدشاه فدو
میر شریف خان

—۶

منکه بنده درگاه خلاق پناه میر محمد شریف خان ام

چون خدمت امانت و فوجداری و شقداری پرگنه چرکنده سرکار دیور کنده صوبه فرخنده بنیاد حیدرآباد بنام بنده مقرر شده اقرار می نمایم که جمع پرگنه را بعد ملاحظه مزروعات و موجدات ده بده و دریافت احوال رعایا از روی جزرسی بنوعی که نصف حصه سالم برعایا برسد و نصف در سرکار عاید گردد مشخص کرده گنجایش را در نگذارم و پرداخت پرگنه از قرار واقعی نموده جمع بندی مشخص ساخته طوماران را بدستخط دیسمکهان و دیسیائیان و بمهر شریعت پناه بدفتر رسانم و تحصیل هر روز ۵ را بمهر خود و قفل فوطه دار باحتیاط در کوٹھ خزانه نگهدارم و یکدام بے سند معتبر حضور صرف نکنم و در بندوبست و حفظ و ربط و تنبیه و

تادیب مفسدان طرق و شوارع کوشیده پرگنه را بر وقت هنگام
 بے باق نموده... روز افزون تحصیل ماه بماء و بعد انفصال ارسال
 مجمل و جمع و خرچ وغیره کاغذ موافق ضابطه ارسال حضور نمایم -
 بنا براین چند کلمه بطریق مچلکه نوشته شده که عندالحال سند
 باشد -

تحریر فی التاریخ نهم ربیع الثانی ۱۱۳۲ هـ

۷- سند بدهند

ابراهیم یارخان بخدمت امانت و فوجداری و شقداری محالات سرکار
 کهمیم میت وغیره صوبه فرخنده بنیاد حیدرآباد ضمیمه سرکار و ارنگل
 از تغیر حسن منور خان ممتاز شده در باب نوشتن سند هرچه امر -

دس محال بیستم جمادی الاول ۱۱۳۵ هـ

بابت سه بندی

۸- چهارم حصه مقرر شد

سند بدهند

ابراهیم یارخان بخدمت امانت و فوجداری و شقداری محالات سرکار
 کهمیم میت وغیره صوبه فرخنده بنیاد حیدرآباد ضمیمه سرکار و ارنگل
 از تغیر حسن منور خان ممتاز شده - در باب نوشتن سند سه بندی
 مع سرب و باروت و ذخیره و مرمت گدھی و خلعت زمینداران و
 مدد خرچ جمیع اخراجات هرچه امر -

جمادی الاول ۱۱۳۵ هـ

دس محال

سابق به حسن منورخان عامل

سه بندی سیوم حصه مقرر بود -

۵ لاکه ۸۶ هزار ۱۲۵ روپیه ۳ آنه

جمع کامل

عالی

منظور دارند

آصف جاہ
فدوی
شمش الدین خان

-۹

چون حاضر ضامنی یاسم ابراہیم یار خان کہ بخدمت امانت فوجداری و شقداری سرکار وارنگل وغیرہ صوبہ فرخندہ بنیاد حیدرآباد سرفراز شدہ شدہ ام اگر خان مشارالیه بے رخصت متصدیان حضور جائے برود حاضر کردہ بدھم و اگر حاضر کردن نتوانم از عہدہ آن جواب گویم بنابراین این چند کلمہ بطریق حاضر ضامنی نوشتہ دادہ کہ ثانی الحال سند باشد۔

سرکار وارنگل ۱۵ محال

۱۰۔ تجویز کار کنی پرگنہ حویلی دیورکنده وغیرہ سرکار مذکور محالات صوبہ فرخندہ بنیاد۔ از تغیر

باسم راج روپ ۷ جمادی الاخر ۱۱۳۸ ۵ ص

۱۱۔ موافق معزول

راج روپ ولد رام روپ بخدمت کارکنی پرگنہ حویلی دیورکنده از تغیر

۲۰ روپیہ ماہانہ

۶ محال

۴ لاکھ ۴۰ ہزار ۲۸۰ روپیہ ۱۴ آنہ ۶ پائی
جمع کامل

منظور دارند

آصف جاوید
ٹوڈر مل

-۱۲

منکہ ٹودرمل ولد حچمل سوار ملازم سرکارام

چون بنده از راه فضل و کرم بخدمت کارکنی محالات سرکار ایلاکنندل
و غیره مضاف صوبه فرخنده بنیاد حیدرآباد ممتاز شده اقرار می نمایم
براین معنی که بلوازم و مراسم خدمت ماموره از قرار واقعی و
راستی پرداخته دقیقه از دقائق حزم و هوشیاری غیرمرعی نگذارم
و مجمل جمع و خرج و روزنامه و سیاهه و غیره کاغذ موافق ضابطه
مقرره و قاعده معین فصل بفصل درست ساخته بدفتر میرسانیده باشم
و آمدنی هر روزه را در کوٹھ خزانه بمهر این و داروغه و قفل
قوطه دار نگاه داشته سر رشته درست نموده ماه بمه ارسال
دارم و یکدم بے سند معتبر بخرج نکتم بنا براین چند کلمه بطریق
مچلکه نوشته داده شد که ثانی الحال سند باشد -

۵ شهر رجب ۱۱۴۳ هـ

۱۱ لاکھ ۴۱ هزار ۴۷۶ روپیہ ۱۵ آنہ ۱۰ محال

کامل بیست پنج روپیہ ماهنه سرفراز است

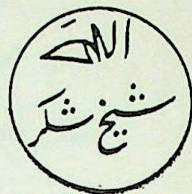
سند بدهند

۱۳ - امر شد

شیخ شکرالله ولد شیخ غلام محی الدین بخدمت وقائع نگاری داروغه
خزانه پرگنه ایلاکنده و غیره محالات صوبه فرخنده بنیاد حیدرآباد از
تغیر میر رحمت الله ممتاز شده در باب نوشتن سند خدمت هرچه امر -
۴ لاکھ ۷۰ هزار ۳۸۲ روپیہ ۳ آنہ ۶ محال سلخ ربیع الثانی
کامل

۵ ۱۱۴۵ هـ

منظور دارند



-۱۴

منکه شیخ شکرالله ولد شیخ محی الدین سوار ملازم سرکارام

چون از راه فضل و کرم خدمت وقائع نگاری و داروغگی خزانه
پرگنه ایلکنده و غیره سرکار مذکور صوبه فرخنده بنیاد حیدرآباد
سرفراز شده اقرار می نمایم که بلوازم و مراسم خدمات مذکور را
از قرار واقعی و برآستی درستی پرداخته دقیقه از دقائق حزم و
هوشیاری غیر مرعی نگزارم و حقائق تشخیص و تحصیل و مقدمات
و روداد هر روزه مفصله و شروحاً بے کم و کاست داخل وقائع
می نموده باشم و دامی و درمی از ابواب و تصرف و بالادستی
و غیره عاملان پوشیده و نهان ندارم و ابواب حوالداری و
طرفداری و طلبانه و جرمانه و فروعی و غیره تحقیق نموده بلا تفاوت
داخل واقع می نموده باشم و یکدام از کسے طمع و توقع نکنم
بنا بران این چند کلمه بطریق مچلکه نوشته داده که ثانی الحال
منند باشد -

تحریر فی التاریخ شهر جمادی الاول ۱۱۴۵ هـ

۱۵ - بدستور معزول

شیخ شکرالله ولد شیخ غلام محی الدین بخدمت وقائع نگاری و
داروغگی خزانه پرگنه ایلکنده و غیره سرکار مذکور صوبه فرخنده
بنیاد حیدرآباد از تغیر میر رحمت الله تعلقه میر محمد شریف خان

سرفراز شده درباب تنخواہ مواجب نویسند و ہر کارہ ہائے
بخدمت التماس می نمایند -

۱۶ جمادی الاول ۱۱۴۵ ہ سابق بہ میر رحمت اللہ وقائع نگار
معزول مبلغ سیزدہ روپیہ در ماہ
نویسنده و ہر کارہ منجملہ سہ بندی
عامل مقررہ بود -

Zahiruddin Malik

TWO NAWABS OF THE CARNATIC AND THE SRI RANGAM TEMPLE

Muhammad 'Ali Walajah (1765-1795 A.D.) and his successor Umdatul Umara (1210-1216 A.H., 1795-1801 A.D.)¹ both members of the Walajahi dynasty of Arcot evinced interest in the proper functioning of the Ranganatha temple at Sri Rangam, near Tiruchirapalli, which suffered considerably during the Carnatic wars of the English and the French. Tiruchirapalli, a stronghold of Muhammad 'Ali Walajah, figured considerably in the Anglo-French conflict. The French were successful in occupying the area and in plundering the temple.

Ananda Ranga Pillai, in his diary,² refers to the French General Crillon, in the course of his campaign against the English near Samayapuram attacking the Sri Rangam temple and to his plunder of two streets in the town. The *Tuzak-i-Walajahi*³ of Burhan Ibn Hasan confirms this while mentioning that the French cut down the trees, destroyed, plundered and vacated the buildings and devastated the temple. Again this is corroborated by the *Koyilolugu*^{3a} a Tamil Chronicle dealing with the history of the Sri Rangam temple.

'The Unals (Yavanas-French) who became powerful in Pudukcheri, spread their army everywhere, entered Sri Rangam and harassed the inhabitants. Unable to bear the harassment the people took refuge in the temple and closed the gates. The Unals, entered the Chittira and Uttira streets, plundered the temple and were planning to harass the entire population, when Alagiyamanavala Perumal took

1. He was the principal channel of communication between Arcot and Seringapatnam. *Quarterly Review of Historical Studies* X, No.1, 1970-71, Calcutta, pp. 31-34.

2. The Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai Dubash to Joseph Frangois Dupleix. —A Record of Matters, Political, Historical, Social and Personal, Vol. XI; Also C.S. Srinivasachari, *The Historical Material in the Private Dairy of Ananda Ranga Pillai*, in *Journal of Indian History*, XVII, 1938, pp. 335-59.

3. Tr. by S.M.H. Nainar, II, Madras, 1939, p. 240. (*Koilolugu*; ;Madras, 1961.)

3a. *Indian Antiquary*, 1911, pp.131-44; Also, V.N. Hari Rao, *Services in Sri Rangam Temple in Medieval Times*, Indian History Congress Proceedings of the twentyfourth Session, (Delhi, 1961) ; Calcutta, 1963, pp. 89-92.

pity on the people, evoked the sympathy of an aged Parangi towards them and through his good offices saved the temple. The attention of the French was diverted by a threatened English attack on Wandiwash. The army of the *Sarkar* entered Sri Raṅgam without a fight and appointed the *Qiladar* and the *dargha* and other managers according to custom, issued orders to rebuild, inhabit and fortify it.

Umdatul Umara Bahadur was also concerned for the observance of customary usages and the conduct of proper worship in the temple. Two prominent disputes were decided. There was a longstanding rift between two members of a Vaiṣṇava family regarding the receipt of *tirtham* (sacred water) in the Ranganatha temple. A complaint was preferred to the Nawab by Annangar Varadacarya that Rangacarya was enjoying the plaint's share and properties for about 120 years. The Nawab after an elaborate enquiry into the evidence decided in 1796, on the verdict of the jurors. Under the orders, both the parties were to have their shares in the *tirtham*. They were to enjoy *rusuas* (dues, fees) and *mirasi* (rights) equally fifty fifty. They were also directed to look after their respective business and if any one went against the order, he was to forfeit his rights and be liable to the further orders of the Sarkar⁴.

In 1796, certain interesting administrative changes were accomplished in the Cidambaram temple, Cidambaram, which was under the administrative control of Hazarath Muhammad Miruddin Khan Saheb⁵. The Viṣṇu temple situated within the precincts of the Siva temple had a very chequered history. Quite frequently ritual and worship was abandoned. Ramaraja of Vijayanagara restored the temple, additional endowments were made to it by Kṛṣṇappa Nayaka of Jinji by the end of the 16th century, in spite of the opposition of the Saiva priests. Subsequently also the Viṣṇu temple was disorganized and disturbed by the priests of the Siva temple and it was closed. In 1796, however, the Saiva priests admitted the depredations they had committed upon the Viṣṇu shrine and gave in writing that they had restored the worship and ritual in the Viṣṇu temple. The agreement, a copy of which is available with a trustee of the Viṣṇu temple runs as follows:

4. Mackenzie Collection (Restored) III, pp. 223-24. Rev. W. Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonné of oriental MSS in the Government Library* 3 Vols. Madras, 1857-1862.

5. S.M.H. Nainar, *op. cit.* p. 244.

“We are the Pujalies of the temple of Sabapathy Iswar, situated in the Khasba of Cidambaram. Of our own free will and desire, we admit and give in writing as follows:— That we had shut up the Pagoda of Sri Govinda Raj Perumal, as an act of wickedness and depravity for the years and had put a stop to the worship etc. in the aforesaid Pagoda. That, now (recently) during the administration of Hazrath Muhammad Moiuddin Khan Saheb, we have opened the aforesaid Pagoda and have commenced worship, etc.; at the temple of Perumal, according to *mamool*. That we had used force and beaten a body of the soldiers, the servants of the state, (employed) as watchmen, also the footmen of the establishment and Poligans, etc., posted for continuing the worship in the temple of Perumal, at the door of the aforesaid Pagoda. That we have made an arrangement in the temple having in view the object of pulling down the aforesaid temple. We had appropriated to our own use for thirtyfour years the amount of sixty pagodas annually, being the income of *Hundavam* belonging to the Sircar, as well as, that of the *Miras* of Mikavalukar (head watchmen). That we had forcibly taken in our custody the keys of the temple of Eashwar, which, as a *mamool* should have been in the custody of *Mikavalukars*. That we had destroyed Ballipeit⁶, ‘the pial and the post of the temple of Perumal, which had been in existence as usual from time immemorial. That we admit all these faults. Therefore, we promise that we would not obstruct the performance of worship and *Puncha Parva Oothsavam*⁷ and *Ruth Pothsavam*⁸ etc., that is festivals of the Perumal Pagoda, which are being celebrated according to *mamool*. We would not stop the pujalies of the Perumal Pagoda from drawing the water of Pramanadham well. We shall give them possession of the hundred pillars mandapam for the Oothsawams (festivals) usually performed in the Perumal temple. We shall not prevent Pujalies of the aforesaid Pagoda from taking water out of the tank, that is, water

6. i.e. *Balipitha*

7. *Panca parya utsava*

8. *Rathotsya*

fountain, situated in the pagoda for the observance of Tiruth that is, the washing of the Perumal. We shall pay the Sircar the sum of six thousand pagodas to every pie, conveniently and leisurely being the income of the *Hundavam* belonging to the Sircar, and the *Miras* of *Mikayalukar*, which we had appropriated for our use. In future, we shall remit the amount of sixty pagodas to the Sircar in respect of *Hundavam* from year to year, and month to month, and shall continue the *Miras* of *Mikavalukar*, according to *mamool*. We shall hand over the keys of the temple to *Mikavalukars* and shall construct and deliver *ballipeit* and post in the same state as before. We, the Pujalies of the Perumal pagoda, shall live in complete harmony and shall not disobey the order of the Sircar. That we had been in the habit of assembling in one place from a long time until now, and after causing the fault of every plaintiff and defendant to be proved, we had collected fines from them and appropriated the same to our own use, without remitting them to the Sircar. Hereafter, should there be any dispute, forthcoming from us, we shall cause the same to be known to the Sircar, and should there be any payment of fine, we shall remit the fine to the Sircar; and we will not assemble in one place. Should at any time, an order of the Sircar be issued, we shall obey the same with head and eyes (heart and soul). In case of (our acting) contrary to this we shall be guilty to the Sircar. Therefore, we have written and given these few words as an agreement to be vouched hereafter". The document was affixed with the Quazi's seal, which clearly points to the Nawab's suggestion and interference⁹.

K. D. Swaminathan

9. There is an interesting story of a Muslim Princess of the Royal Family at Delhi who died broken hearted because she was not allowed to retain the idol which was presented to her to play with after it had been carried off by Malik Kafur from the temple at Srirangam and which the Hindus successfully reclaimed. S.K. Aiyangar, *South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders*, 1921, pp. 113-16; Also K.S. Lal, *History of the Khaljis A.D. 1290-1320*, 1967, p. 252.

THE ROLE OF GHULAM HUSAIN IN THE FORMATION OF ANGLO-ROHILLA RELATIONS BETWEEN 1766-71

Mir Syed Ghulam Husain Khan¹, the author of *Siyar-ul Muta'akhhkhirin* played a very significant role in establishing Anglo-Rohilla relations between 1766-71. During these five years Ghulam Husain Khan acted in a dual capacity: as a Rohilla emissary to the Governor of the East India Company and as an agent of the Company in the dominion of the Rohillas. He enjoyed the trust of both the parties, and by his tact and skill in diplomacy, he accomplished the task entrusted to him both by Hafiz Rahmat Khan² and the East

1. Mir S. Ghulam Hussain Khan was the son of Mir S. Hidayat 'Ali Khan Saharan-puri. His mother's grand mother was a paternal aunt of 'Ali Wardi Khan Mahabat Jung, Governor of Bengal (1740-56). The family shifted from Delhi to Bihar while Ghulam Husain Khan was of only five years. Hidayat 'Ali Khan had a stormy career. He migrated to Delhi in 1743 with his family. Ghulam Husain Khan, however, returned to Patna in 1745 and he took active part in defending the city against the attack of Mustafa Khan in March 1745. In 1748, Ghulam Husain Khan entered the service of Sa'eed Ahmad Khan Saulat Jung the son in law of 'Ali Ward i Khan at Monghyer and soon rose in high esteem and confidence of his master who gave him the right to collect revenue of *parganah* Sirpur. Saulat Jung died in 1754 A.D. and his eldest son Shaukat Jung succeeded him. Shaukat Jung attempted to capture Bihar, Bengal and Orissa from Siraj-ud-daulah, but he was defeated and slain in 1756 A.D. Siraj-ud-daulah, considered Ghulam Husain Khan as Shaukat Jung's instigator and he became hostile towards him. Ghulam Husain thus escaped to Banaras in 1756 A.D. On the accession of Mir Ja'afar to the *nawabi* of Bengal, Ghulam Husain Khan and his elder brother 'Ali Naqi Khan returned to Patna. Ghulam Husain's stay at Patna brought him in close contacts with the English.

Siyar-ul Muta'akhhkhirin is the principal source of our information for the history of the 18th century. It is a voluminous work and is unrivalled in details and varied aspects of events which the author has described with great care, accuracy and labour. For details see, C.A. Storey, *Persian Literature*, Section II, Luzac and Co. London 1939, 625-640; Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. VIII, Allahabad 1964, 194-98; Ghulam 'Ali Khan, *Imad-us-Sa'adat*, N.K. 43.

2. Hafiz Rahmat Khan was the son of Shah 'Alam Khan a resident of Roh, in Afghanistan. Shah 'Alam's slave Daud Khan was the adopted father of 'Ali Mohammad Khan Rohilla, the founder of Rohilla power in Rohilkhand. After the sack of Jansath (1737 A.D.) 'Ali Mohammad Khan summoned Hafiz Rahmat Khan and gave him a high position in his army. 'Ali Mohammad Khan nominated Hafiz Rahmat Khan as the custodian of his dominion during his illness. After the death of 'Ali Mohammad Khan, Hafiz Rahmat Khan, for all practical purposes became the ruler of Rohilkhand. For life and career of Hafiz Rahmat Khan see, C. Elliot, *the Life of Hafizool Moolk Rahmat Khan*; S. Altaf 'Ali, *Hayat Hafiz Rahmat Khan*; Karachi 1963; Mustajab Khan, *Gulistan-i Rahmat*, 'Aligarh Ms.

India Company. Mir Qasim, after his defeat at Buxar in 1764 took refuge in Rohilkhand³ with a design to continue struggle with the help of the local people. This provoked apprehensions in the quarters of Awadh⁴ and the British authorities, who soon resolved the expulsion of their vanquished foe from that area by any means they could adopt. At the same time, Hafiz Rahmat Khan overwhelmed by the Sikh and Maratha incursions,⁵ was anxious to seek the military aid of the Company. Their mutual interest led them to open negotiations and work out details of a common plan. For this they chose the agency of Ghulam Husain. In consequence of his diplomatic activities Mir Qasim was forced to retire from Rohilkhand but Hafiz Rahmat Khan did not achieve his objective.

This paper attempts to assess the role of Ghulam Husain, the common agent of the Rohilla *sardars* and the English Company and to explain the issues involved in the relations between them.

Ghulam Husain Khan was introduced by one of his friends, 'Abd-ul-Lah Khan with Mr. Amyatt, the Chief of the Patna Factory some times in 1757.⁶ Subsequently he developed friendship with Dr. Fullerton of the same factory and both became fast friends.⁷ Through these officers, Ghulam Husain Khan came into close contact with other English officers. The English officers took complete advantage of the relations with Ghulam Husain. As he himself admits that on the request of Major Hector, he induced the *qala'dar* of

3. 'Imad-us Sa'adat, 94; Harcharandas, *Muntakhab Chahar Gulshan-i Shuja'i*, BM OR 1732, f. 65a; *Gulistan-i Rahmat*, 134 ab; *Siyar-ul Muta'akhlkhirin*, Nawal Kishore, 765-66, 769-70, 932; Shuja'-ud-daulah had also preferred to take refuge in Rohilkhand after the debacle of Buxar. But due to hostile attitude of some of the Rohilla *sardars* he retired to Farrukhabad on the advice of Hafiz Rahmat Khan. Munshi Gur Sahai, *Tarikh-i-Awadh*, 'Aligarh Ms, f. 38 a; Wali-ul-Lah, *Tarikh-i Farrukhabad*, 'Aligarh Ms. 81-82; *Persian Sources of Indian History*, ed. G.N. Khare, Poona 1961, 118.

4. Shuja'-ud-daulah wrote to the Governor in December, 1766 to take an offensive measure against the Rohillas for the expulsion of Mir Qasim from Rohilkhand. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1911, letter No. 2783.

5. For Sikh inroads on the Rohilla territories see Nur-ud-din, *Ahwal-i Najib-ud-daulah*, BM. Add. 24410, ff. 82b-88b, 101-114b; Azad Bilgiram, *Khazana-i 'Amira* N.K. Kanpur, 1871, 114-15.

6. *Siyar-ul Muta'akhlkhirin*, 651.

7. *Siyar-ul Muta'akhlkhirin*, 676.

Rohtas in 1764 to surrender the same and acknowledge the allegiance of the Company.⁸

Ghulam Husain Khan had lived among the Rohillas with his father Mir Hidayat 'Ali Khan.⁹ Mir Hidayat 'Ali Khan, after serving as *faujdar* of Bareilly, played a conspicuous role in the politics of Delhi and Bengal during the middle of 18th century.¹⁰ Ghulam Husain worked under different chiefs and nobles before entering the service of Hafiz Rahmat Khan. The exact date of Ghulam Husain's employment under the Rohilla chief is not known.¹¹ It may, however, be assumed that he was employed in 1765 in which year the friendship between the East India Company and Shuja-'ud-daulah, the Nawab *wazir* was formed. At this time great confusion and alarm prevailed in the country of the Rohillas. Abdali was demanding payment of the agreed amount from the Indian powers including the Rohillas, and he was hovering over the northern part of India¹². Due to a constant fighting with the Jats and the Sikhs,¹³ a prominent Rohilla chief, Najib-ud-daulah suffered great losses in men and money. He was hard pressed and exhausted.¹⁴ The Marathas attacked

8. The fort of Rohtas was held by one Shah Mal, a servant of Mir Qasim who was a friend of Ghulam Husain Khan. Major Hector Munro, the English Commander-in-Chief, on hearing that Shuja-'ud-daulah was negotiating with Shah Mal the qala'dar, and Ya'qub, the head of the garrison, to deliver the fort to the Awadh ruler, he chose Ghulam Husain Khan as his medium. Ghulam Husain Khan prevailed upon Shah Mal and the fort was surrendered to the Company in September, 1764. For details, *Siyar-ul Muta'akhhirin* 758; *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. I, No. 2424.

9. Mir Hidayat 'Ali was appointed as *faujdar* of Bareilly. He was ejected from there in 1747 by 'Ali Mohammad Khan Rohilla, the founder of the Rohilla power. For details see, *Siyar-ul Muta'akhhirin*, 866-69; *Imad-us Sa'adat*, 43-44; *Calcutta Review*, 1875; Samsam-ud-daulah, *Maasir-ul Umura* (Text), Bib. Ind. 194-96; Bisheshwar Prasad, 'Ali Mohammad Khan Rohela, Allahabad University Studies, 1929, No. 5, 153-90.

10. Ghulam Husain Khan claims that his father worked as Naib *Nazim* of Azimabad (*Patna*). Ghulam Husain's father accompanied with the Prince 'Ali Gauhar (Shah 'Alam) as *Bakhshi-ul Mumalik*, in the unsuccessful expedition of the Prince to capture Bengal in 1759. *Siyar-ul Muta'akhhirin*, 522-657.

11. Ghulam Husain discusses about his various employments but he no where refers to about his employment under the Rohillas. For details see, *Siyar-ul Muta'akhhirin*, 631, 660-61.

12. *Persian Records of Maratha History of Delhi Affairs*, 1761-68, tr. J.N.Sarkar, Bombay, 1953, 3; *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, II, 201; Ganda Singh, *Ahmad Shah Durrani*, Bombay, 1953, 315-16.

13. For life of Najib-ud-daulah see *Ahwal-i Najib-ud-daulah*.

14. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, II, 847.

Etawa and Shikohabad which were assigned to 'Inayat Khan and Dundey Khan by Ahmad Shah Abdali after the victory of Panipat,¹⁵ and were posing great dangers to the Rohilla possessions across the Ganges.¹⁶ The Company authorities felt greatly alarmed at the growing menace and resolved to form an alliance with the Jats and the Rohillas "to preserve Oudh and the Company's possessions against incursions, invasions and ravages of the Marathas...."¹⁷

Threatened by the Marathas and exposed to the aggression of external invaders, the Rohillas were equally frightened by the ambitious design of Shuja-'ud-daulah at their territories. They for reasons of security resorted to double dealings with the English and the Abdali.¹⁸ To win the Company's support at this juncture, Hafiz Rahmat Khan sent Ghulam Husain Khan to Patna in March, 1767 where Lord Clive was to pay a visit.¹⁹ The Rohilla intended to negotiate with the Governor "without the intervention of anyother" and desired formation of an alliance with the Company on the same lines, which the English made with Shuja-'ud-daulah.²⁰ Ghulam Husain could not meet Lord Clive at Patna as the latter had left the place

15. *Gulistan-i Rahmat*, ff. 92 a- 93 a; *Imad-us Sa'adat*, 82. Sa'adat Yar Khan, *Gul-i Rahmat Rampur*, Ms.92-93.

16. *Gulistan-i Rahmat*, ff. 135 a-136 b. Anticipating a Maratha invasion, the Rohilla chiefs, Najib-ud-daulah, Hafiz Rahmat Khan and Dundey Khan held a council in November, 1766 and decided to form an alliance with the Jat chief Jahwahar Singh against the Marathas. *Persian Records*. 6-7.

17. *Select Committee Proceedings*, Feb. 1766-Dec. 1766, National Archives, New Delhi, 41 - 42.

18. *Persian Records*. 15. It is interesting to observe that Shuja-'ud-daulah was also making a double deal apprehending Abdali's attack. To avoid it and to please the invader, he wrote a flattering letter to Abdali recalling his services at Panipat and expressing obedience and submission. On the other hand he wrote to the Governor suggesting him to call an early meeting of the Council and evolve some ways to counteract the Rohilla-Abdali attack if any. For details, see *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, II, 234 and 249.

19. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, II, 147, 208; Hafiz Rahmat Khan had a very high opinion of Ghulam Husain Khan. In a despatch to the Governor, he wrote in January, 1768, "As this person (Ghulam Husain) is honourable in his own right, and sprang from illustrious ancestors, being nearly allied to Nawab Intizam-ud-daulah the *wazir* of Hindustan, and enjoys a station of close familiarity and confidence near the writer, the latter will esteem every degree of favour and civility the Governor shows himself". *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, II, 765.

20. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, II, 146.

before his arrival. He, therefore, proceeded to Calcutta where he reached in July, 1767.²¹

Obviously the mission of Ghulam Husain was to establish friendly relations between the Company and the Rohillas. But Hafiz Rahmat Khan's letter to the Governor gives an impression that the emissary had also a secret mission, the objects of which were only to be revealed and discussed at the time of interview.²² The mission of Ghulam Husain failed due to rejection of all the proposals put forth by the Company to the Rohillas.²³ This mission of Ghulam Husain, however, proved to be a turning point in his life.

Though his mission did not succeed in its aim, Ghulam Husain was able to impress upon the Company's officers with his qualities of intelligence and sincerity; and he secured their confidence and good will. They found him a useful and trustworthy agent to work on their behalf in all future dealings with the Rohillas. Henceforth Ghulam Husain worked for promoting the interest of the Company by regularly providing it with necessary information he could gather from the Rohillas or from any other quarter.²⁴

On his return from Calcutta, Ghulam Husain was assigned some secret mission by the Governor which he failed to accomplish "owing to unforeseen events²⁵". In the absence of any evidence it is difficult to ascertain the nature of the mission to Ghulam Husain. Nevertheless it is well known that he made serious efforts by persuading the Rohillas for the expulsion of Mir Qasim.

Mir Qasim's stay in Rohilkhand caused a great concern for Shuja-ud-daulah and the East India Company; for they apprehended

21. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*. II, 474. It is interesting to note that Ghulam Husain describes the object of his journey to Calcutta in 1767 to meet the Governor with the desire to enter his service. *Siyar-ul Muta'akhhirin*, 780.

22. Hafiz Rahmat Khan wrote to the Governor: "In order to cultivate friendship and disclose various important matters which cannot so properly have room in a letter, he has sent Ghulam Husain Khan, who will represent the case with explicitness". *Calendar of Persian Correspondence* II, 765.

23. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, II, 774; No details of the proposals put forth by the Company are available in English records as well as in the Persian sources. In view of the current political trends, it however, appears that the Rohillas wanted to prolong talks with the object to watch the developments resulting from Abdali's invasion.

24. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, II, 1091.

25. *Calendar of Persian correspondence*, II, 1355.

a triple alliance between the Rohillas, Abdali and Mir Qasim against them.²⁶ Shuja-ud-daulah was so much frightened by the possible formation of this alliance that he proposed the Governor to make an alliance with the Marathas.²⁷ But the proposal fell through.²⁸

From the very outset Mir Qasim and Dundey Khan,²⁹ his host in Rohilkhand developed friendly relations. Dundey Khan had a great regard for his guest and entertained feelings of sincerity and loyalty for him. He took keen interest in the welfare of Mir Qasim and persuaded Hafiz Rahmat Khan to make efforts to bring about a reconciliation between Mir Qasim and his adversaries, the English and the Nawab *Wazir*. He also urged that the English and the *Nawab wazir* should be induced to fix some allowance for the maintenance of Mir Qasim.³⁰ Hafiz Rahmat Khan persued the matter through his *Vakil* in Shuja-ud-daulah's court but he could achieve no success.³¹

Mir Qasim lived in Rohilkhand till 1768 peacefully and comfortably. The departure of Ghulam Husain Khan from Calcutta in 1768 and the fast changing conditions, appear to have made an impact on Mir Qasim's relations with the Rohillas. Mir Ghulam Husain who probably had a personal grievance³² also against Mir

26. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, I, 2783.

27. Shuja-ud-daulah wrote to the Governor: "Thinks that a union with the Marathas would be excellent and more lasting than with the Rohillas, for the Marathas entertain a grudge with the Shah for the defeat inflicted on them formerly". *Calendar of Persian correspondence*, II, 234 and also 346, 377.

28. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, II, 255.

29. For life and career of Dundey Khan see, Altaf Ali, *Nawab Dundey Khan*, *Indian History Congress Proceedings*, 1941.

30. Dundey Khan wrote to Hafiz Rahmat Khan: "... On account of his (Mir Qasim) great distress and want, he is now trying every means and schemes to find a remedy. The country of Bengal is now in the hands of the English and Mir Qasim is now applying to everyone for assistance, the ultimate consequence will be war against them. The *nawab* Shuja-ud-daulah should explain this matter to the English and settle some fixed allowance for Mir Qasim's maintenance. Part of the allowance should be given by himself and part by the English." *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, II, 235.

31. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, II, 236.

32. Ghulam Husain possessed a *jagir* in Monghyr which was seized by Mir Qasim and given to one Gurgain Khan. Mir Qasim had promised to compensate the loss which he never fulfilled. *Siyar-ul Muta'akhhirin*, 709.

Qasim, excercised his influence over the Rohilla Chief, Dundey Khan to oust him from Rohilkhand as his stay was not liked by the East India Company.³³

Dundey Khan kept Ghulam Husain Khan on promises with the least intention to fulfil it. By 1770, the position of the Rohillas had become all the more miserable due to Maratha inroads.³⁴ Due to the changing political situations, further support to Mir Qasim would have cost the Rohillas heavily besides the avowed hostility of Awadh and the Company towards them. As a consequence of political exigencies and Mir Ghulam Husain's regular admonitions, Dundey Khan conceded and asked Mir Qasim to leave his place.³⁵ Dundey Khan's attitude against Mir Qasim and consequently the latter's expulsion from Rohilkhand was not in conformity with the policy of Hafiz Rahmat Khan as only a few months earlier he had assured the vanquished *nawab* of military support.³⁶ He strongly protested against the treatment meted out to Mir Qasim. As a result of Hafiz's intervention, Mir Qasim again returned to Rohilkhand.³⁷ But this time, his stay seems to be of a short duration ; he soon left Rohilkhand.³⁷

The Rohillas, faced with a difficult political circumstances, continued their efforts to maintain friendly relations with the British Company through Ghulam Husain.³⁸ The British policy towards the Rohillas, as it appears was of neither commitments nor of rejection of an alliance with them. Dundey Khan much worried over the mounting pressure on the Rohilla territories, suggested the joint

33. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, III, 84.

34. *Persian Records*, 22 ; *Wali-ul-Lah*, 92 ; Ghulam Husain sent a detailed report of the Maratha inroads and their ravages in Rohilkhand to the Governor. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, II, 505.

35. Ghulam Husain Khan in a despatch to the Governor wrote in February, 1770 : "The writer frequently observed the Nawab that the Government of Calcutta resented the protection given to their avowed enemy. In consequence of this the Nawab ordered Mir Qasim to leave Atarchendi". *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, III, 857.

36. *Foreign Department Secret Committee Proceedings*, National Archives, New Delhi, 95.

37. General Harper informed Cartier on 27 August 1770 that Hafiz Rahmat Khan wrote in a strong term to Dundey Khan. As a result of it, Mir Qasim returned to Rohilkhand. *Foreign Department Secret Committee Proceedings*, 275.

38. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, III, 946.

front of the Jats, the Rohillas and the English to check the Marathas in the 'Doab'.³⁹ But the proposal was never considered seriously, and the Company's high command directed Colonel Galliez to keep Dundey Khan in deception as they did not consider such plan favourable to their interest.⁴⁰ Thus the British Company kept the Rohillas on words, appreciating the "usefulness of an alliance" but with no intention to make it.

By the middle of 1770, the Marathas renewed their attacks on the Rohilla possessions, and towards the end of the year their ravaging armies compelled Ahmed Khan Bangash to save his country by offering 22 lakhs of rupees.⁴¹ In the beginning Hafiz Rahmat Khan resolved to fight, but later on gave way and agreed to pay Rs. 5,50,000/- and Dundey Khan Rs. 2,50,000/-⁴² for Etawa and Shikohabad respectively.⁴³ Ghulam Husain was keeping the Calcutta government informed with all the developments and suggested the Governor for an Anglo-Rohilla alliance to destroy the Marathas from the North.⁴⁴ But the British diplomacy was to avoid involvement in any war with the Marathas to safeguard the interests of the Rohillas, though they always expressed the need of an alliance with them and acknowledged their friendship. In fact the British thought that continuous conflicts between the native powers would weaken them and pave the way for their own expansion in these areas. The Governor, however, commended Ghulam Husain for his prompt supply of the news and asked him "to acquaint with everything that may come to his knowledge from time to time".⁴⁵

39. *Foreign Department Secret Committee Proceedings*, 446-48.

40. *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 1946.

41. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, III, 505.

42. 'Imad-us Sa'adat, 104 ; *Gulistan-i Rahmat*, f. 158 b ; *Harcharandas*, f. 187 a ; *Gul-i Rahmat*, 119-20, 143-44 ; *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, III, 505.

43. Etawa was awarded to 'Inayat Khan, son of Hafiz Rahmat Khan and Shikohabad to Dundey Khan by Ahmad Shah Durrani after the victory of Panipat in 1761. These two districts were in possession of the Marathas. Later on these districts became the bone of contention between the Rohillas and the Marathas. *Gulistan-i Rahmat*, ff. 92 a-93a.

44. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, III, 862.

45. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, III, 590.

Ghulam Husain Khan in right earnest kept his British friends posted with every details of the Rohilla affairs from time to time.⁴⁶ The maximum support that the British diplomacy could allow to the Rohillas was their advice to the *nawab wazir* Shuja-'ud-daulah to abandon his hostile attitude and join hands with them to ward off the Maratha aggression.⁴⁷

In May 1771, at the approach of the rainy season, the Marathas withdrew from Rohilkhand. Ghulam Husain again reiterated the need of an alliance between the English and the Rohillas and with other Indian powers to crush the Marathas but his efforts bore no fruits.⁴⁸

The Rohilla power was now at the decline. Their prominent chiefs died one after another, leaving the government a prey to factions and conflicts among various claimants to succession.⁴⁹ The Marathas and the *nawab wazir* seized the opportunity to intensify their offensive and increase depredations in the Rohilla territories. The Rohillas were isolated and their principality like a tiny island was surrounded by a vast ocean of enemies.

At this crucial hour, when the Rohillas were involved in their internal affairs, Ghulam Husain continued his efforts to bring the British Company nearer the Rohillas. He forwarded two letters from Fateh-ul-Lah Khan the son of Dundey Khan to the Governor which were marked by the spirit of friendship.⁵⁰ But letters of cordiality and friendship created no impression and the British policy towards the Rohillas remained unaltered.

46. Ghulam Husain Khan utilized the services of his brother Ghulam Rasool Khan in getting information about the Rohillas. Ghulam Rasool Khan was living with Dundey Khan and supplied regular information to his brother, *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, III, 682.

47. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, III, 667, 669.

48. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, III, 738.

49. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, III, 469 ; *Gul-i Rahmat*, 114 ; *Imad-us Sa'adat*, 104 ; *Ahwal-i Najib-ud-daulah*, f. 123 b ; *Harcharandas*, f 187.

50. Ghulam Husain wrote to the Governor "Has already forwarded to the Governor two letters from *nawab* Fateh-ul-Lah Khan who is so sincerely attached to His Excellency. Expects some despatches from Hafiz Rahmat Khan which he will forward immediately they are received". *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, III, 946.

It appears that some times in 1771, Ghulam Husain Khan, disappointed by the failure in his efforts to bring out an Anglo-Rohilla alliance, ceased to take any interest further in the Rohilla affairs. As long as he could maintain a link between the Rohillas and the East India Company, cordial relations continued to exist between the two powers. With the withdrawal of Ghulam Husain from Rohilkhand there occurred a definite change in the British policy towards the Rohillas during the tenure of Warren Hastings. The British strengthened their friendship with the *nawab* of Awadh, Shuja-'ud-daulah, the traditional enemy of the Rohillas. Thus the diplomacy of *nawab wazir* succeeded in securing the assistance of the Company while the efforts made by the Rohillas through Ghulam Husain failed to gain that end.

Iqbal Husain

CURVED-ROOF AND BENT-CORNICE STYLE OF THE MUGHALS

The age of Shah Jehan is noted for some outstanding innovations in the architectural style. It was not only a change of the building material from red sandstone to white marble and thus from massiveness and sobriety to delicacy and grace, and from carving to inlay ornamentation, but some norms of architectural aestheticism also found their most assertive expression in his monuments. While in Akbar's style the horizontal lines of the superstructure were emphatically presented and variance was obtained by associating them with pyramidal or cupola-roofed chhatris or domes, this technique appeared to be stereotyped to the Shahjehanian eye and the horizontal lines of the chhajjas, entablature, frieze and parapet, in consonance with the arches below and the chhatris and domes above, were curved in the middle and bent and extremely projected at the ends.

This is first observed in the side pavilions of the Khas-Mahal in the Agra Fort. The central hall with the dalan and the fore-court is entirely of white marble. The side pavilions, instead, are of red sandstone which has been exquisitely plastered over with white shell-plaster, almost giving it an impression of marble. Abdul Hamid Lahauri, the court chronicler of Shah Jehan, made specific mention of these pavilions and noted the use of light wood in their ceilings.¹ He mentioned that this Daulat-khana Khas-o-Am was previously an ordinary building, meaning thereby that it was of red sandstone, but it was then made of marble in the tenth year of Shahjehan's reign, i.e. about 1636 A.D.² It is probable that the side pavilions which too were of red stone originally were not demolished and instead were plastered over. Lahauri spoke in the same reference that lime-plaster is sometimes better than marble like a mirror. It is therefore possible that these side pavilions were originally built by Akbar.

1. Cf. *Badshahnama*, Vol. I Part II (Bib. Ind. Calcutta 1867) p. 237.

2. *Ibid.* pp. 236-40.

These side pavilions have a curved chhajja and a curved roof each, like the thatched bamboo roof of Bengal (Plate-I). It gives an added emphasis on the upper horizontal lines which would otherwise have been monotonous and would have necessitated a superstructure, e.g. a chhatri. The curve beautifully roofs the pavilion and at the same time provides, in itself, an impressive superstructure.

This curve is assertively presented in the central part of the Nagina Masjid which was built by Shah Jehan a little later for his personal use in the fort of Agra. The central arch has been enlarged and a bit more elevated to accommodate the curve of the frieze the chhajja and the parapet and the central dome has likewise been elevated higher in comparison to the side domes (Plate-II and III). This emphatic presentation of the central part, i.e. arch, chhajja, parapet and the dome is significant. As the head towers over the shoulders in human body, this central part provides a beautiful combination of the nave with the wings and the central dome with the side ones. The emphasis is more beautifully perceptible in the super-structure. Associated with other similar elements, it added immensely to the overall aesthetic effect of the building—a phenomenon which was scarcely doubted by the contemporaries.

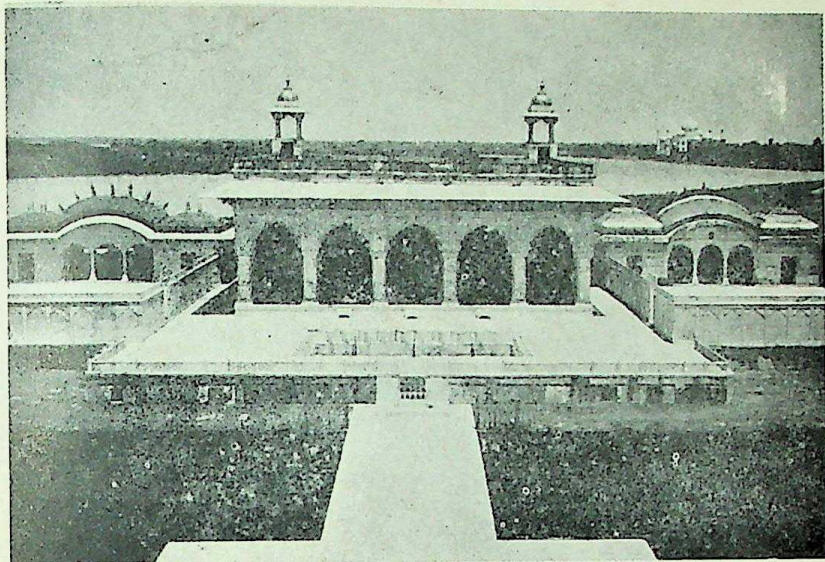
The square throne-pavilion of the Diwan-i-Am of the Red Fort Delhi has four beautifully designed pillars which supported a curved canopy. The arched openings are protected above by a correspondingly curved chhajja. It is here for the first time that projecting and bent ends were introduced to the chhajja which add an unprecedented grace to this feature (Plate-IV). The combination of these pillars, ornamental arched-shapes, curved chhajja with projecting ends and a curved canopy produced an extremely graceful architectonic effect.

The curved feature next appears in the oriel window on the backside of the main gateway of the Jami Masjid of Delhi which was completed in 1656 (Plate-V). The central archway is flanked on either side by three arched alcoves one over the other and it is this oriel window which breaks the monotony, combines harmoniously with the pinnacles and chhatris of the superstructure and thus provides the sole ornament to this side of the gateway. A

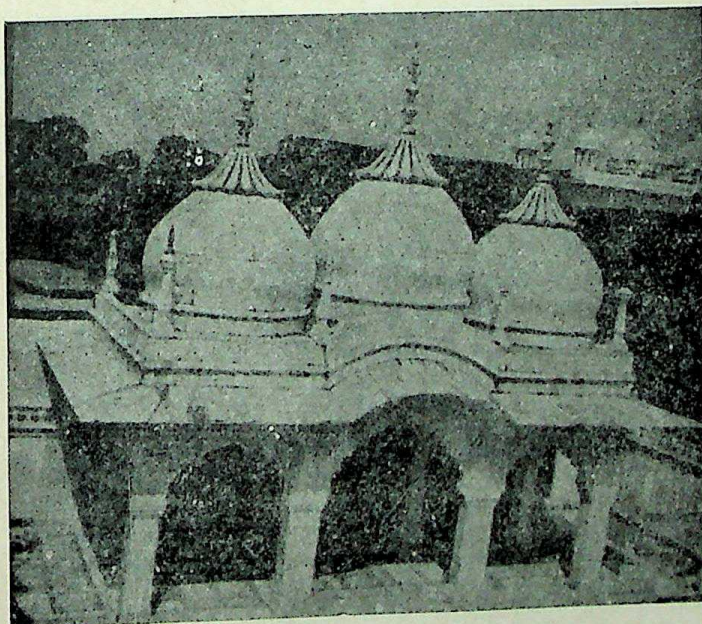
purely functional structure was inconceivable in the age of Shah Jehan and certain features to give it a substantial aesthetic character were, as a matter of fashion, necessarily incorporated. This window above the central archway provides a beautiful rhythm to this facade.

The Moti-Masjid of Red Fort Delhi which was begun by Shah Jehan and completed in 1659³ after his deposition has an extremely impressive curve in its central part and it is here that this feature has been employed most beautifully by the Shahjehanian architect (Plate-VI). The chhajja which projects over the arches is curved in the middle of the facade above the central arch and so is the parapet above the chhajja and this as a whole gives extra prominence to the nave in the facade as well as in the elevation. The harmony is simply amazing. The curved chhajja protects the engrailed arch as aesthetically as do the eye-lids over a set of beautiful eyes in a handsome countenance; the curved parapet too can be compared with the eye-brows, over them, A plain and straight combination could neither have given this grandiose to the facade nor this magnificence to the skyline and much of the credit of the overall aesthetic quality of this beautiful mosque goes to the curved features. The backside of the entrance opening towards the court is also remarkable for a similar pattern. Here again a bamboo cornice has been used in three planes, which rhythmically recede, flanked on each side by a false ornamental chhatra with a fluted cupola (Plate-VII). Here we come across a combination fully developed and perfected to the status of an architectural formula which was later almost universally adopted as a prototype. Rajput architecture—with its curved chhajjas and roofs, pointed and bent bamboo cornices and fluted domes and cupolas—borrowed directly from these features of later Mughal architecture and it was with these distinctive characteristics that palaces, and on a larger scale chhatris (Rajput sepulchral structures) were built by the Rajputs and the Marathas at Udaipur (Ahar), Jaipur (Gaitor), Jodhpur (Mandor), Bikaner (Devikund), Kotah, Bundi, (Kesharbagh), Alwar (Siliserh), Bharatpur, Goverdhan, Dholpur, Gwalior, Shivpuri, Indore and other princely States from the beginning of the 18th to the end of the 19th century.

3. See author's paper, The Moti-Masjid of the Red Fort, *Indica* Bombay, Vol. VIII No. 1 (March 1971; pp. 23-25).



Side Pavilions of the Khas-Mahal, Agra Fort
Plate — I

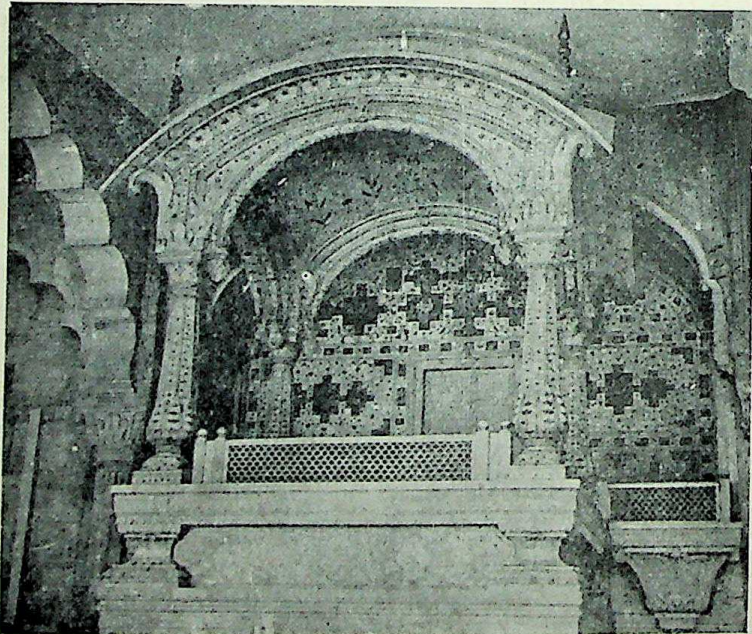


Nagina Masjid, Agra Fort
Plate — II



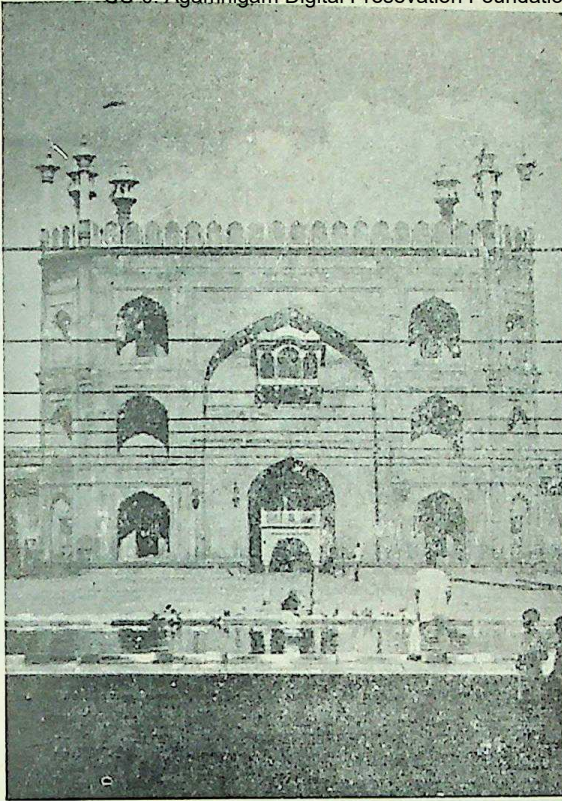
Central Part of the Nagina Masjid, Agra Fort

Plate — III



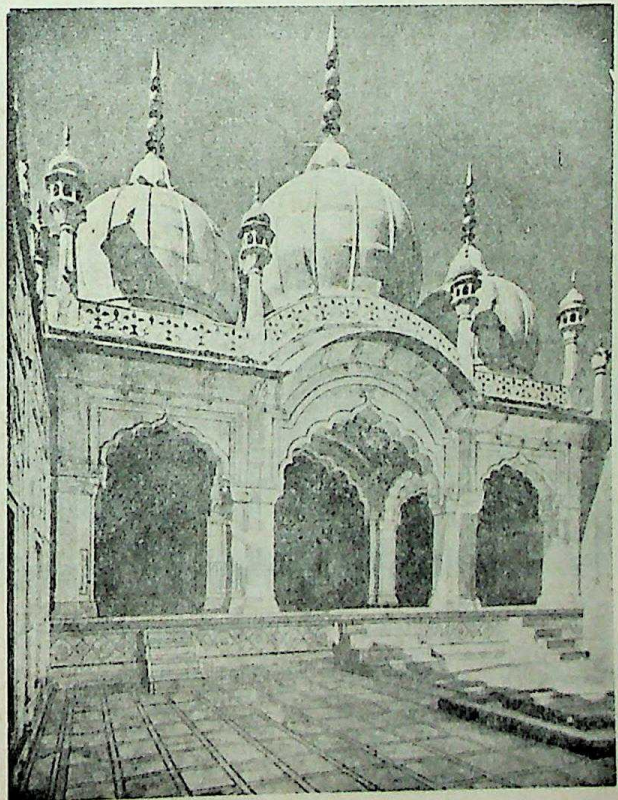
*Throne-Pavilion of the Diwan-i-Am of
Red Fort, Delhi*

Plate — IV



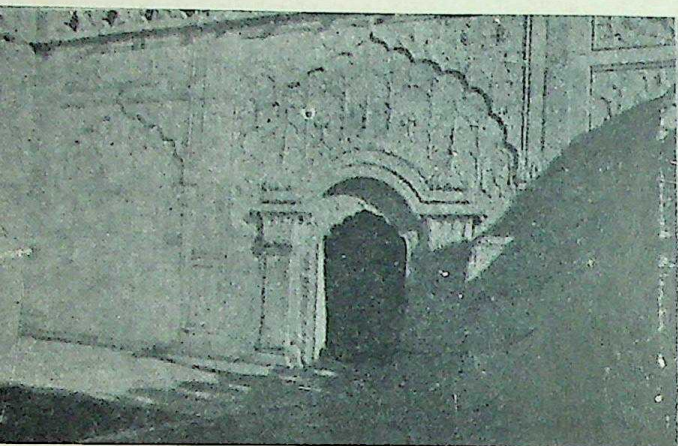
*Back side of the Main
gateway of the
Jami Masjid, Delhi*

Plate — V



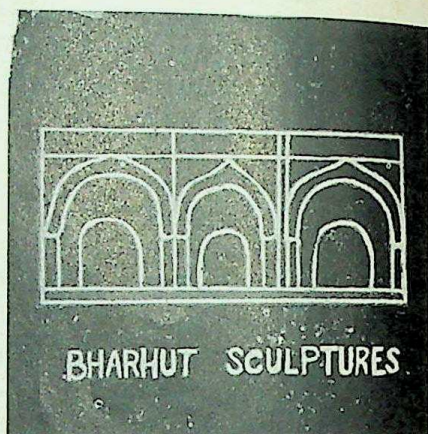
*The Moti-Masjid,
Red Fort, Delhi*

Plate — VI



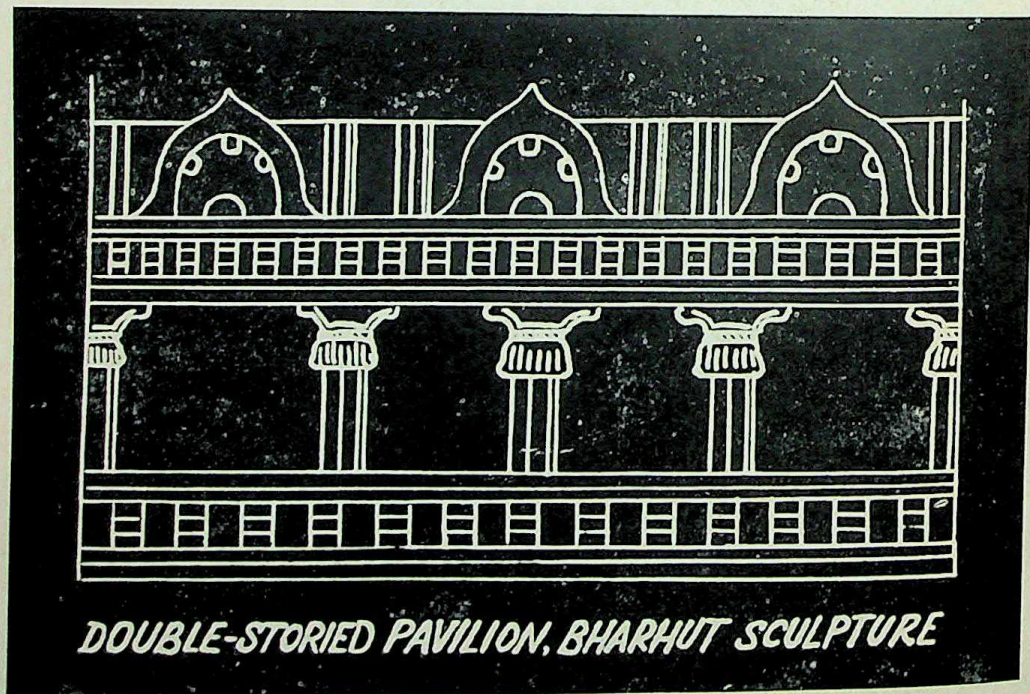
*Back Side of the Entrance Moti Masjid,
Red Fort, Delhi*

Plate — II



Bharhut Relief

Plate — IX



Bharhut Relief

Plate — VIII

Though many creative experiments were initially made to accommodate it with the style, the curved feature did not appear in the buildings of Shah Jehan accidentally. It was inspired and the source may be systematically traced as far back as to the indigenous style of architecture in a remote past, which was, of necessity, of a thatch order with easily procurable wood as the chief building material. The forms were evolved in wood and when stone replaced it, these wooden forms were translated, almost as it is, into stone. We know for certain that the earliest architectural remnants in India which have an arched shape were inspired by wooden prototypes. The examples may be cited from the excavated chaitya-halls in the Barabar Hills of Bihar, belonging to the Mauryan age, e.g. the Lomas Rsi cave and the Sudama Cave. The former has an entrance facade curved "in imitation of wooden forms in the shape of an ogee arch above heavy, sloping jambs,"⁴ The Sudama Cave dated 250 B.C. has in front a roof hanging down and projecting "in a manner very much as if it were intended to represent thatch."⁵ The Sudhamma Sabha relief from Bharhut of the 2nd century B.C. depicts a similar construction with an arched and domed shrine.⁶ A further development of this motif may be traced with some success in the chaitya-windows (gavaksas) of the chaitya-halls of Bhaja, Nasik and Ajanta dating from 2nd century B.C. to 6th century A.D. "These chaitya-halls are excavated copies of wooden structural buildings as clearly appears in the literal imitation of timbered construction; occasionally wood was combined with the stone, forming a screen of concentric ribs within the arch of the entrance or applied to the stone ceiling to represent rafters and in one or two cases part of the original woodwork has survived. Another feature derived from wooden construction is the inward slope of the entrance jambs, which is most marked, in the earliest examples and becomes much more conspi-

4. A.K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (Dover ed. 1965) p. 18 and fig. 28; Cf. also O.C. Gangoly, *Indian Architecture* (Bombay, 1954) fig. 26; James Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol. I (revised by James Burgess, London 1910) p. 131. According to Amita Ray, "There can hardly be any doubt that the original pre-type of this window was made of bamboo which was later translated in embellishment" Cf. *Villages, Towns and Secular Buildings in Ancient India* (Calcutta, 1964) p. 39.

5. Fergusson p. 131.

6. Ibid. p. 159. fig. 81; Gangoly, fig. 1.

cuous as the stage develops.” The great chaitya-hall of Karle has “an enormous horse-shoe window in which remains of structural wood-work consisting of concentric arches forming a pediment are still preserved..... wooden ribs attached to the domed stone of the roof, one of the last instances of this peculiar vestigial use of wood-work in combination with the solid stone.”⁷ The curved and domed architectural reliefs of Bharhut (Plate-VIII and IX) Sanchi, Mathura and Amravati are of one type and represent a gallery, balcony or window with barrel-vaulted roof and chaitya-window of the usual type. These forms seem to have been derived originally from the domed thatched hut and barrel-vaulted types of the Todas⁸ or other similar primitive constructions. The bamboo shapes can thus apparently be linked with the early architecture of India—which was necessarily in the material which was easily available, i.e. wood, bamboo and straw. The huts in villages even in modern times are similarly built. “In areas where building material still consists of mud, bamboo, reed, straw, wood etc. it is very natural that traditional forms, shapes and types would persist since some of these at any rate were conditioned by the materials themselves.”⁹ In all such cases the builder skilfully manipulated the roof in accordance with the necessities of the use, climate and the ground plan. Thus the roofs were designed as sloping, angular, curvilinear, conically domed or bee-hived. Such thatched huts had finials over their roofs which were made either of wood or of straw, as has faithfully been depicted in the bas-reliefs of Bharhut.

The appearance of the bamboo shapes in the Shahjehanian buildings can be linked with these ancient forms through the Bengali examples where these forms had continued to be followed. Bengal has no stone and the Bengalis mainly depended on timber, bamboo, reed, straw or brick for building material. Taking advantage of the elasticity of bamboo, they developed a roof of bent-shape in the middle and at corners which they employed universally. It became a local characteristic of the Bengal style. It was equally guided by the climatic conditions of the region. Such curved surfaces achieved by means of bent bamboos could throw off the rain water successfully and ensured a comfortable living inside, in this region of

7. Coomaraswamy, p. 28f.

8. Ibid. p. 49.

9. Amita Ray, p. 8.

abundant rainfall. The curved element became more prominent in the facade where it assumed the form of curved cornice. Its employment at the same time got over many difficulties that a straight line could hardly meet, and altogether it impressed with its domes and pavilions pleasingly. It thus became a permanent feature in Bengal. After the annexation of Gaur to the Mughal Empire, the local craftsmen dispersed. Some naturally sought patronage at the prosperous Mughal court. They brought this feature to Agra and Delhi with them. It was undoubtedly the Bengali artisan who introduced the circular chhajja, parapet or ceiling and the extremely pointed and projecting cornices—the two aspects of this curved feature—in Mughal architecture. The side pavilions of the Khas-Mahal which are in red sandstone could have been built originally during Akbar's time and Shah Jehan could have allowed them to stand, after plastering them white, to flank the central structure which he built of white marble by demolishing the red stone palace of Akbar. This seems to be the only probable example of pre-Shahiehanian epoch. We meet with the pyramidal roof, evidently of a thatch order, on a very large scale in Akbar's architecture at Agra and Fatehpur Sikri. Of course, it was mainly trabeate, composed of pillar, bracket and beam system in which curved cornice could not be effectively used: this is more befitting an element over the arch, preferably an engrailed (cusped) arch, surmounted by a hemispherical cupola or bulbous dome. This has, therefore, been used emphatically in Shahjehanian buildings and later on such a large scale that it became a distinctive characteristic of the style near the end of the seventeenth century. Rajput architecture of the post-Mughal period is characteristically recognized by the curved chhajjas and roofs, and pointed and extremely projecting cornices. There is no doubt that the curved feature beautifully harmonised with the arched entrances and the domed spherical super-structure. The point is not so much a result of the admixture of horizontal and vertical lines, as it is of the straight and curved lines; the straight lines were minimised as far as the later architect could. He introduced regular curves even in the pillars which supported the cusped arches, so much so that purely straight lines in some instances were completely eliminated. The horizontal lines came down at the angles in such great curves and with such prominent contours that they as much dominated in the vertical section of the building as on its horizontal axis.

The Mughals thus occupy almost an intermediary position between the ancient Hindu forms of this appearance and the curved features of the Rajput palaces and chhatris. It was during their liberal and enlightened age that, after a conflict of many centuries between the arcuate features of Muslim inspiration, e.g. arch and dome on the one hand, and trabeate features of indigenous origin, e.g. pillar, bracket, beam, chhajja and chhatri on the other, the things settled down with gradual and almost unconscious integration of one element with the other, without the superfluities and thus a set style comprising of engrailed arches with ornamental pillars and brackets ; curved chhajjas and bent cornices ; fluted domes, cupolas and chhatris ; and stupendous finials came into vogue. Curiously, it saw its fruition after the downfall of the Grand Mughals in an age of anarchy and turbulence away from the scene of political strife in green pockets of Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh where the Mughal artisans had found refuge and patronage. It virtually remained the national style of architecture for nearly two centuries, till soaring spires of Christian cathedrals began to appear.

Ram Nath

JHAIN OF THE DELHI SULTANATE

Jhain was an important town during the Sultanate, particularly the Khalji, period. The first reference to Jhain is found in Barani's account of the reign of Balban, where some nobles are reported to have approached the Sultan with the suggestion that he should attack Jhain and other states, in order to obtain treasures, elephants, horses etc., from the *rais* (chiefs).¹ The Sultan did not approve of the proposal as, he thought, the country had to face the Mongol menace and it was not possible to divert attention to other regions.²

We hear frequently of Jhain during the time of the Khaljis. Jalaluddin Khalji, while leading an expedition to Ranthambhore in 1290 A.D. first reached Jhain and captured it. The *wilayat* of Jhain and Malwa were plundered and the Sultan obtained great booty.³ The Sultan marched to Ranthambhore from Jhain and returned to Jhain the same day (in the evening).⁴ However, realizing the difficulty in capturing the fort of Ranthambhore, he abandoned the idea of attacking it and returned to the capital.

Amir Khusrau gives a detailed account of the expedition of Jhain in *Miftah-ul Futuh*,⁵ which helps us in tracing the probable route that Jalal-ud-din Khalji took when he marched towards Jhain (see map). "The king" writes Khusrau, "left Siri for Lohravat on Thursday, 22 March 1291, camped at Chandaval, followed a river course and reached Riwari, and from there he reached Narnaul (or district Narnaul), then camped at a desert but due to excessive heat and dearth of water there, the people and their mouths shut through thirst and a hundred camels were laden with water buckets to

1. *Tarikh-i Firozshahi* Text f. 50

2. *Ibid.* f. 52.

3. *Ibid.* f. 213.

4. *Ibid.* f. 213.

Futuh-us Salatin Text 223. Isami says that the Sultan went towards Jhain for hunting and the forest and mountains, which were at a distance of ten *kos* became empty. From every side he used to get presents. Reaching Jhain, the fort was completely demolished. Temples were also destroyed and the Hindus were killed.

Tarikh-i Firishta Text p. 94: While describing the expedition of Ranthambhore, Firishta says, that Sultan Jalal-ud-din felt that the capture of the fort of Ranthambhore was a difficult task and so he went towards Jhain and captured it.

5. *Miftah-ul Futuh* Text pp. 31-35.

satisfy the needs of the army. They found two hills. After two weeks they reached the hills of Ranthambhore. The Turks began to destroy the villages. The Sultan sent a party to collect information about the Rai's country. The killing of Hindus began. The Sultan remained at a distance of four *farsang* from Jhain. A battle took place and the Hindus cried 'mar' 'mar' (kill). The Hindus were searched out in every hill of Jhain. They fled away beyond the hills. The Sultan was encouraged with this victory. Jhain now remained at a distance of two *farsang* only, but the hill was high and the pass was narrow. The royal army entered into the hills. An alarm soon spread in Jhain. Ultimately, an army started from Jhain quickly under the command of Sahini.⁶ A great fight took place and Sahini fled away. Jhain was full of confusion. During the night the *Rai* and many Hindus fled away from Jhain to the heights of hills and then to the ranges of hills of Ranthambhore. After this victory, the royal army returned to the presence of Sultān.....”

“On the third day”, continues Khusrau, “the Sultan reached Jhain and entered the palace of the *Rai*. A contingent was despatched under Mahmud Sarjandar to sack Malwa. After crossing the rivers Chambal and Kuwari, the royal forces arrived in Malwa. The Sultan also left Jhain and the army met him at Chambal. From there Mubarak Barbak was sent in the other direction. He (Sultan) marched towards river Banas.”⁷

It seems that with the return of the Sultan, Jhain, too, was lost. In 1292 A.D., Jhain was again attacked and plundered and the Sultan captured Mandor.⁸

Jhain was again captured under Alauddin Khalji. Ulugh Khan and Nusrat Khan first captured Jhain and then laid siege to Ranthambhore. The besiegers established themselves over the territory of Jhain, as far as Dhar.⁹ On the fall of Ranthambhore, the Sultan assigned the fortress of Ranthambhore to Ulugh Khan along with the territory of Jhain.¹⁰

6. He was a commander of great distinction and had led several expeditions in the countries of Malwa and Gujarat.

7. In *khalji kalin Bharat*, p. 154, River Banas has been written as Banaras which is either a misprint or a slip by Dr. A.A. Rizvi.

8. Barani's *Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi*, f. 220.

9. *Tarikh-i Firozshahi* f. 277.

10. *Ibid.* f. 275, 175.

Yahya's *Tarikh-i Mubarakshahi* Text. p. 77. Also see *Tarikh-i Firishta* Text p. 106. To quote *Firishta* “.....His nobles first captured the fort of Jhain and besieged the fort of Ranthambhore.”

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While describing the conquest of Ranthambhore Amir Khusrau says about Jhain "..... the inhabited parts of Jhabun (Jhain) that old land of paganism, became the 'new city' of the true believers. The great Imperial banner stood over the iron fort like a key in a lock, for it was the key for the conquests of Southern lands."¹¹

After the death of Ulugh Khan, Malik Izzuddin Bur Khan was appointed vazir of *Shahr-i Nau*, the new name given to Jhain.¹² After resisting the Mongol invasion Alaaddin Khalji entrusted the *Wilayat* of Jhain to Fakhr-ul-Mulk Mir Tebi.¹³

Alaaddin Khalji established a state granary in Jhain. To quote Barani it was ordered "that in Jhain and in its villages (i.e. in the whole *wilayat* of Jhain) also, stores for grain should be formed."¹⁴

At another place Barani said that the revenue of *Shahr-i Nau* (Jhain) was assessed according to measurement and at a certain rate per biswa.¹⁵

In the early part of 15th century, Jhain seems to have remained in the possession of the Delhi Sultans. In 1416 A.D., Khizr Khan, while marching towards Nagaur to subdue Sultan Ahmed Gujrati, entered *Shahr-i Nau* Jhain. Amir Ilyas Khan, the governor of that place gave in his allegiance to him.¹⁶ In 1455 A.D., when Iqbal Khan Khalji conquered the fort of Sajnad, Khan-i Azam, Taj Khan marched the same year towards the region of Jhain. His soldiers obtained immense booty from there.¹⁷

The above study of Jhain, thus, suggests that it had a certain strategic importance. Amir Khusrau remarks in *Khazainul Futuh* that "It (Jhain)

11. *Khazain-ul Futuh* Tr. Prof. Habib, p. 41, Cf. Text pp. 58-59.

Also see Amir Khusrau's *Deval Rani and Khizr Khan* pp. 64-65. To quote Khusrau: "After the conquest of Delhi, when the areas of Sindh, hills and rivers were subjugated. Sultan decided to subjugate the *Raj* of Gujarat under him. He ordered Ulugh Khan to attack on Gujarat to have the elephants, treasure etc. Ulugh Khan Muazzam left towards Jhain. Leaving Ulugh Khan for the expedition of Ranthambhore Sultan left for Chittor. After two months when he captured Chittor/and left Khizr Khan there, then he decided to conquer the state of the *rais* of the Deccan.

12. Barani: *Tarikh-i Firozshahi*, Text f. 299. Amir Khusrau *Khazain-ul-Futuh* Text p. 58-59.

13. *Tarikh-i Firozshahi* f. 323.

14. *Ibid.* 306.

15. *Tarikh-i Firozshahi*, p. 288.

16. Yahya's *Tarikh-i Mubarakshahi* Text p. 184. Nizamuddin Ahmad gives the date of this event as 1414 A.D. *Tabkat-i Akhari*, p. 134.

17. Alhajadabbir's *Zafar-ul Walih be Muzaffar wa Alihi* Tr. M.F.Lokhandwala, Vol.I, Chap. XVI, p. 174. Jhain has been translated incorrectly as Jahin.

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was the key for the conquest of Southern lands...¹⁸ Barani records that it was on the route from the South. After the expedition of Warangal, the return journey was made by the route of Deogiri, Dhar and Jhain.¹⁹ Barani also records, that Mubarak Khalji, after the expedition of Devagiri, while pursuing his journey homewards, stayed at Ghat-i Sakun (Badaoni gives the form Sadra-i Sakun) and then reached Jhain.²⁰

Since Jhain clearly stood close to the fort of Ranthambhore, rather supposed to be in the territories of Ranthambhore, and its situation is such, that it is rather strategically imperative to capture it before attacking Ranthambhore.

An attempt was made by Alauddin Khalji to keep Jhain under his direct administrative control. A state granary was formed there. Obviously this granary was not intended to store the produce of Jhain alone, which at best could justify such an elaborate arrangement. It appears that grain from the south and particularly from Malwa was to be stocked here. Since Jhain was strategically situated, controlling the routes to the north and the south, it was the most convenient station to supply food grain to scarcity areas. The probable route shown in the map from Delhi to Jhain for the march of armies must have been adopted by the merchants for transport of commodities. This route lying through sandy country with few rivers, could be traversed directly the rain ceased.²¹

In spite of all these indications in Sultanate sources, Jhain has not been located and identified. Dr. K.S. Lal admits that "Neither Jhain nor any site bearing its changed name Nau Shahr are traceable on the maps now. A small place "Naigaon", however, which exactly means Shahr-i Nau lies at a short distance east of Ranthambhore. This may probably be identified with the Jhain of Barani."²²

It is understandable that a place bearing its name as Jhain may be difficult to trace on the maps but I wonder if the Persian word *Shahr-i-Nau* can be translated as "exactly" Naigaon (which means not New City, but New Village).

Another mistake was committed by S.H. Hodiwala while interpreting the following passage of Barani.

18. *Ibid.* pp. 58-59. Also see *Dewal Rani and Khizr Khan*, pp. 64-65.

19. *Tarikh-i Firozshahi*, f. 330.

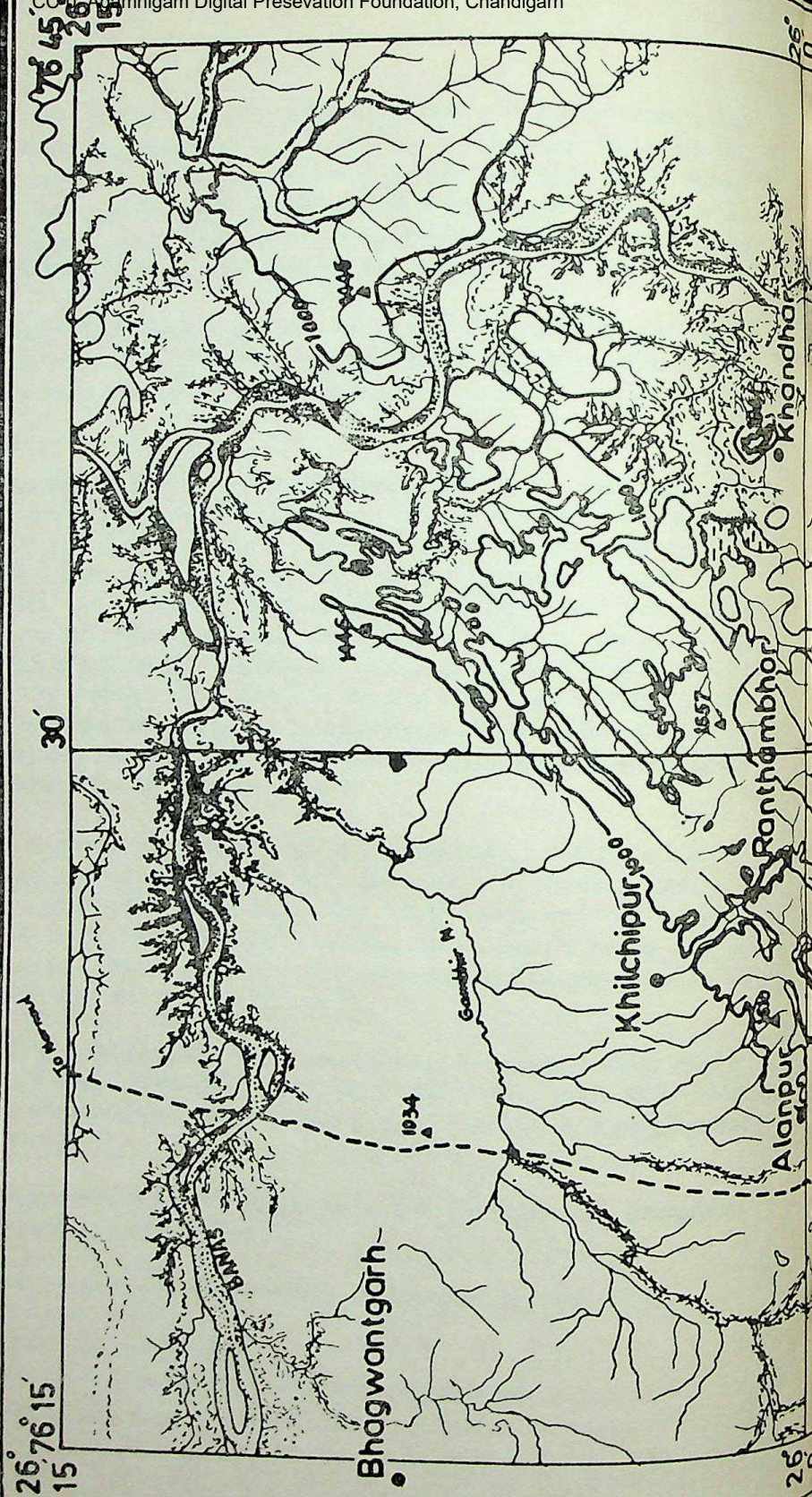
20. *Tarikh-i Firozshahi*, 393.

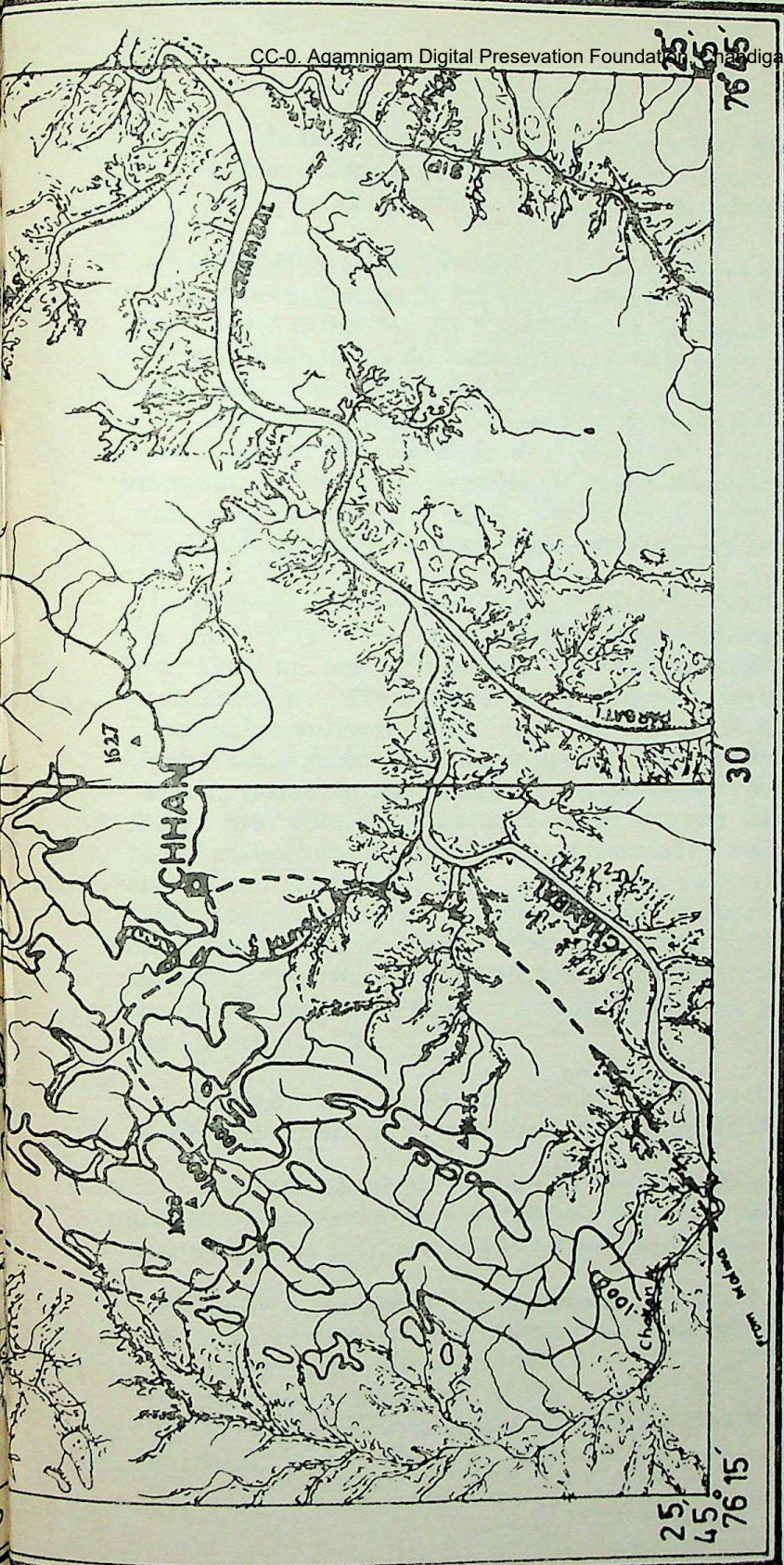
21. Also see Moreland's *India at the death of Akbar*, p. 226.

22. K.S. Lal *History of Khaljis*, p. 84 n.

CHINAI (JHAI) VIA ENIVBONG

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Contours
 --- Probable route of the
 expedition of Khaljis

Miles 5 4 3 2 1 0 5 10 Miles

'In the country dependent on the New City, half the Sultan's portion (of the produce) was to be taken in grain. In Jhain also, and in the villages of Jhain stores were to be formed'

Hodiwala says that 'The New City, stands here not for Siri, but for the 'New Town' founded by 'Alauddin *near* Jhain. Barani means that the grain collected in this 'New City' and its dependent villages was to be stored in granaries in the district itself so as to be easily available for conveyance to Delhi in time of need. Barani has said before that when Ulugh Khan died, 'Izzuddin Bur Khan became vazir of the New City', *Shahr-i Nau*, (near Jhain), and that the tribute of the New City was assessed by actual measurement, at a certain rate per bisva, i.e. 20th of a Bigha, just as in the environs of the capital (188 supra). This leaves no doubt that the 'New City of this passage is the '*Shahr-i Nau* near Jhain and not Siri.'²³

Hodiwala says here that Alauddin founded the New City *Near* Jhain. The word "Near" is in italics. We have sufficient evidences to establish that 'New City' was not near Jhain but was Jhain itself. Amir Khusrau states clearly that "The inhabited parts of Jhaban (Jhain) that old land of paganism, became the 'New City' of the true believers."²⁴ Isami writes that Ulugh Khan captured Jhain, whose modern name was *Shahr-i Nau*²⁵. . . . "when he decided to attack on Hamir of Ranthambhore he came out from *Shahr-i Nau*". *Tabaqat-i Akbari* corroborates him and says, " . . . Khizr Khan went to *Shahr-i Nau*, 'urus (bride) of Jhain, which was built by Alauddin Khalji"²⁶ Badaoni says And in the year 699H (1299 A.D.) Ulugh Khan was nominated to proceed against the fortress of Ranthambhore and Jhain, which is better known as Naushahr.²⁷ *Tarikh-i Mubarak-shahi* says " when Rayat-i Ala (Sultan Khizr Khan) entered *Shahr-i Nau* Jhain; Amir Iliyas Khah, governor of Jhain got the privilege to kiss his feet. . . . "²⁸

The above facts leave no doubt in our mind that *Shahr-i Nau* was exactly Jhain of Barani not 'near Jhain as interpreted by Hodiwala'.

In the 16th century the reference of Jhain is made in *Ain-i Akbari* as well as in *Akbarnama*. In *A'in-i Akbari*, Abul Fazl records its area as 3,7753 *bighas* and its revenue 4,75000 *dams* and shown it under *sarkar*

23. *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, Bombay, 1939, p. 279.

24. *Khaza'inul Futuh*, Tr. Prof. Habib, p. 41 of the text p. 58.

25. *Futuh-us Salatin* Text pp. 271-74.

26. Nizamuddin Ahmad Text p. 134.

27. *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Vol. I, Tr. and Ed. Ranking p. 257.

28. Yahya, Text, p. 186.

Ranthambhore, *suba* Ajmer.²⁹ In *Akbarnama*, the reference is made in connection of Pir Mohd, who was afraid of Bairam Khan, took up his abode at the valley of Jhain near Ranthambhore and fortified that defile. Bairam Khan, when heard of it had sent a body of troops to seize him. When this force approached, there was an engagement. When night came on Pir Mohd. evacuated the place.³⁰

It appears that the exact place could not be traced and identified correctly, firstly because the right name of the place had not been discovered and secondly, the regional papers were not available to the scholars. Fortunately, with the help of the regional records, I am in a position to identify this place.³¹

Since dots are usually omitted in Persian writing, this place has been read variously as Jahaban, Jhaban, Jahan, Jahin. Elliot and Dowson have sometimes taken it to be Ujjain.³² The contemporary and near contemporary chronicles followed Barani and called it Jhain. In *Akbarnama*³³ and *Ain-i Akbari*³⁴ it is also written as Jhain.³⁵

This place actually is Chhain or Chhan-i³⁶ (i.e. Chhan) which is clear from the regional Rajasthani records,³⁶ preserved in R.S.A. Bikaner. This *pargana* was held by Sawai Jai Singhji and his predecessors in Jagir.³⁶ It was in *sarkar* Garh Ranthambhore, *subah* Ajmer. The crucial evidence linking this place to Jhain of the Persian sources comes from the *A'in*, where this same *pargana* is given the name Jhain and shown under *sarkar* Ranthambhore. It may be noted that Abul Fazl also says that the pass of Jhain led to Ranthambhore, and this fits Chhan, because the road to Ranthambhre still ascends the hills from SE at Chhan (See Map). It is, of

29. *Ain-i Akbari*, Blochmann ed. p. 510.

30. *Akbarnama*, Vol. II Tr. Cf. Text. p. 87.

31. I had the privilege to work with Late Mrs. Khursheed Nurul Hasan and Professor S. Nurul Hasan while preparing the maps of the territories held by the Kachhawaha rulers of Amber between 1650—1750.

32. See Elliot Vol. III, 146. Where Jhain is said to be Ujjain, also p. 172, Note 1, where this opinion is abandoned. Jahin has been translated by Lokhand-wala in Zafarul'...." Dr. A.A. Rizvi translated as *Arus-i Jahan*. See *Uttar Tamur Kalin Bharat*, Part I. While in the text it is Jhain.

33. *Akbarnama*, Vol. II. Tr. Cf. p. 87.

34. *Ain-i Akbari*, Blochmann ed. p. 510.

35. In the analogy of *pargana* Amber-i (Amber), *pargana* Khandar-i (Khandar) and *pargana*, Umrain-i (Umrain).

36. *Arhsatta pargana* Chhain 1734 A.D. Also see Amber record.

36. *Arhsatta pargana* Chhain 1734 A.D.

course, also established from the Sultanate sources that Jhain was quite close to Ranthambhore. Chhain is situated in the south-east of Ranthambhore,³⁷ about a distance of seven miles (See Map). Its longitude and latitude are approximately 76° 27'E and 25° 55'N respectively (See Quarter Inch Map 54 B and C). I have plotted the *mauzas* of this *pargana* on the map for the year 1734. The earliest Rajasthani evidence for this *pargana* I could find is dated *miti mah sudi 10 svi 1722*!1665 A.D., when the diwan is informed by his officials that the *khasra* of *lato dori* was sent to Chhain and three *sehnas* have been appointed³⁸....

It is also stated in a 18th-century document that *pargana* Chhain is situated at a distance of 5 *kos* (approx. 10 miles) to *pargana* Khandar.³⁹ (See Map).

Tieffenthaler, also mentions a city called Tschan at a distance of five miles from the fortress of Ranthambhore. This would appear to be Chhan.⁴⁰ The text of Badaoni reads Jhaban but MS (A) reads Chhain.⁴¹ However, we do not get the reference of *Shahr-i Nau*.⁴² Perhaps, by the time of Mughals this name for Chhan might have disappeared ; otherwise it would have been recorded by Abul Fazl.

A detailed study of the expedition of north and south suggests that this is the right place plotted. We have references of valleys, mountains, pass⁴³, situated around Chhan, that establish the validity of our identification.

Satya Prakash Gupta

37. Badaoni :ays that Hamir Deo was the chief of Ranthambhore and Jhain.

38. Amber Record. Letter from Ramchand to diwan *miti mah sudi 10 svi 1722*/1656 A.D.

39. Amber record 1744 A.D. Puramal is writing to Harihar that the *qiladar* has written from Khandar 'that the men of Hara are about to reach to Chhan. There is a possibility of an encounter. From here (Khandar), the Chhan is at a distance of 5 Kos. There are very few people in the fort of Chhan'

40. Tieffenthaler, I, p. 322, quoted from Ranking's translation of '*Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*' Vol. I. p. 257 and n 1.

41. Ranking's tr. '*Muntakhab-ut Tawrikh*' Vol. I.

42. Tieffenthaler does not mention this name. See Ranking p. 257 n.

43. See for the passes and hillocks surrounding Chhan *Miftah-ul Futuh* (expeditions of Jalaluddin Khalji of Jhain).

CULTURAL PICTURE OF THE DECCAN IN THE 15th CENTURY

Continuity of Culture

The cultural history of a country is the record of a continuous flow of culture and, like the proverbial rivulet, dynasties come and dynasties go, but the stream of culture continues to flow down its course.¹ No doubt culture is affected by political forces and programmes but the basic elements are passed from one generation to the other without a break, for at no time a whole generation is totally wiped off. Thus in order to bring to our own mind the cultural picture of the Deccan of the 15th century we have to take into account as its background, the cultural remains of the centuries which precede it.

The fifteenth century in the Deccan

The preceding century, the fourteenth, may be said to be the scene of two vast revolutions in the Deccan, the harbingers of the establishment of the Vijayanagar Empire, which finally swallowed up all the kingdoms of the south, and the Bahmani Kingdom which was destined to spread from sea to sea towards the end of the fifteenth century. The first dynasty of Vijayanagar was established on the southern bank of the Tungabhadra in 1336 when its capital, "The City of Victory", was founded,² while ten years later, in 1346-47, was founded the Kingdom of the Deccan named the Bahmani Kingdom after its founder 'Alau'd-din Hasan Bahman Shah.³ Its first capital was Daulatabad but it was soon shifted to Gulbarga renamed Ahsanabad, while it was further shifted to Muhammadabad-Bidar in 1424.⁴ Both these states were founded on the debris of the Tughluq Empire which originally comprised practically the whole

1. See Sherwani, *Cultural Trends in Medieval India*, Introduction.

2. For the foundation of the city see Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, Delhi edition, 1920, p. 19. Further Sources of Vijayanagar History, pp. 54 ff.; P.B. Desai, *A History of Karnataka*, pp. 336 ff.; Sherwani and Joshi, *History of Medieval Deccan I*, p. 85.

3. For the foundation of the Bahmani Kingdom and the name of its founder see Sherwani, *the Bahmanis of the Deccan*, pp. 30, 48, 70 n. 12.

4. Daulatabad, first capital; *ibid.*, 37. Capital shifted from Gulbarga to Bidar, *ibid* 180-84.

of India, with its three capitals, Jahanpanah, one of the seven or rather nine cities of Delhi, Swargadwari in Awadh and Daulatabad in the south.⁵ The vastness of the Empire made it easy for the recalcitrant and rebellious elements among the nobles and distant officials to raise their heads, and so far as the South was concerned it resulted in the establishment of the Sultanate of Ma'bar centered at Madurai, the Empire of Vijayanagar and the Bahmani Kingdom. The Sultanate of Ma'bar was conquered by Vijayanagar in 1378 resulting in the confrontation of the two remaining states of the Deccan.⁶

At the dawn of the fifteenth century Vijayanagar was ruled by Harihara II (1377-1404) while the Bahmani Kingdom was ruled by Tāju'd-dīn Fīrōz (1397-1422). The century closed in the reign of the last ruler of the Sāluva dynasty, Immadi Narasimha, who was succeeded by Vīra Narasimha, while after him in 1510 came Krishnadēvarāya, perhaps the greatest of the rāyas of Vijayanagar; but his reign falls just outside our limit.

Cultural remains

It is remarkable that in spite of the ravages of 'Alāu'd-dīn Khaljī and Malik Kāfūr in the Deccan and the continuous rule of the Bahmanīs and Bahmanī succession States, followed by the Mughal rule and the Asaf Jahi dynasty, lasting totally seven centuries, the vast monuments of ancient Deccan, scattered throughout the length and breadth of the region, are a witness to the non-interference of various dynasties in the religion of the people. The great temples of Tanjore and Gangakandacholapuram constructed by Rajaraja the Great (985-1034) and Rajendra (1018-1052), the wonderful temples at Belur Samastipur and more than all, at Halebid still stand as the wonder and admiration of the visitors for their founders the Hoysalas (1222-1359); the Seven Pagodas at Mahabalipuram constructed as early as the seventh century; the temples of Madurai, the great show pieces of Ellora and Ajanta containing profuse sculpture and paintings depicting gods and goddesses of the Brahmans, the scores of statues of the Buddha, some of them three times the size of a human figure. These wonderful relics in stone and paint stand today in all their glory within a short distance from Daulatabad which was ruled successively by the Tughluqs, the Bahmanis, the Nizām Shāhīs, the Mughals and the Asāf Jāhīs.

5. The capitals of the Tughluq Empire, *ibid*, 18.

6. For the Sultanate of Ma'bar see S.A.Q. Husaini, *The History of the Pandya Country*, ch. III.

Krishna-Tungabhadra Doab

The Vijayanagar Empire and the Bahmani Kingdom were at daggers drawn during most of their history, and like the warring dynasties of old, the main bone of contention was the fertile Krishna-Tungabhadra Doab with its two great citadels, Raichur and Mudgal. The rulers of the Vijayanagar were Hindus while the Bahmanis who ruled in the Deccan during the fifteenth century were Sunni Muslims, but with the continued influx of immigrants from over the seas, especially from Iran and 'Iraq,⁷ they leaned more and more towards the tenets of Shī'ah faith. Although there was a continuous conflict between these two riparian powers of the Doab, it is noteworthy that these very wars were conducive towards mutual cultural influences in almost all walks of life. If one happens to visit Vijayanagar, which is barely ten miles from the South-Central Railway Station of Hospet, one would see numerous Indo-Persian arches of the Bahmani variety interspersed in the vast area occupied by the ruins of Vijayanagar. Strangely, such specimens of architecture are evident in and near the very sanctum of the zenana enclosure such as the Queen's Baths, the Lotus Mahal, the Danaik's enclosure and perhaps even more prominently in the so-called Elephant Stables, a building which Havell suspects to be the great mosque of Vijayanagar.⁷ This was, however, not a one-way traffic, for Hindu influence can be seen in the sacred architecture of the Muslims as early as the closing years of the fourteenth century when Hindu jambs are visible in the prayer niche in Ghi-y-athu'd-din Tahamtan's tomb (1397) on the Haft Gumbad complex at Gulbarga. This influence is manifest to a very large extent in Firoz's tomb (1422) in the same complex. We see here the Perso-Bahmani arch supported by Hindu Jambs on either sides of the doorways and the brackets supporting the chhajja remind one of the brackets of the Hindu temples of the Deccan.

The Krishna-Tungabhadra doab had been the bone of contention between the powers which had way to its north and those in the south from ancient times, even when these riparian powers belonged to the same faith. We find it a fruitful object of quarrel between the Chalukyas, the Cholas, the Andhras and the Pallavas⁸.

7. Havell, *History of the Aryan Rule in India*, p. 185, suspects that the so-called Elephant Stables were a mosque. For buildings with Indo-Persian arches, see Longhurst, *Hampi Ruins*, pp. 74 ff.

8. Gurti Venkata Rao conclusively proves in his learned article on "Bahmani-Vijayanagar Relations" *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 1938, pp. 264-277, that the cause of the wars between the Bahmanis and Vijayanagar "was political and economic rather than religious."

If we glance at the map of India we would espy an outward similarity between the Ganga-Jamuna doab in the north and the Krishna—Tungabhadra doab in the south. But if we look at the part played by these doabs in Indian history we would find a considerable difference in their character. The configuration of the former is such that once an invader has crossed the five or rather six rivers collectively called Punjab and has reached Delhi, he has the vast North Indian plain extending hundreds of miles lying before him with practically nothing to block his way. The character of the southern doab is, however, entirely different for the two great rivers of the south lie athwart the path of any intruder to the doab either from the north or from the south.

It is interesting to note that while this doab acts like a barrier to the political ambition of would-be conquerors it has never come in the way of intermingling of cultures, and instead it has acted like a liaison between the cultures prevalent in its north and in its south. Most of the few historians who have an interest in the history of the Deccan stress more the political squabbles between the sultanates of the Deccan *inter se* and between the sultanates and Vijayanagar, and do not generally take into account the cultural contacts between them. There is thus the story of Parthāl, the daughter of a goldsmith of Mudgal, one of the important towns lying in the doab. When Devaraya II succeeded to the *gaddi* of Vijayanagar in 1425-26 he was a young man in the prime of his life. When he heard that the youthful daughter of the goldsmith was not only beautiful of face but also an adept in music and song, he fell in love with her and wanted to possess her by all means in his power. He sent royal messengers to the poor goldsmith asking the hand of his daughter and a request, which was virtually an order, to send her to the capital at once. But Parthal would have none of it, for she said that whoever once entered the Raya's harem never returned to a free atmosphere. This enraged the Rāya, and although the doab was then within the jurisdiction of Taju'd-din Firoz Shah Bahmani (1397-1420) he crossed the Tungabhadra and advanced towards Mudgal in order to take possession of the citadel as well as of Parthāl. Firoz retaliated and not merely threw the Vijayanagar army outside the doab but actually attacked the capital of the southern Kingdom. He forced the Raya to sue for peace and agree to marry his daughter to the Sultan. When it was decided that the Sultan himself should go to Vijayanagar to fetch the bride, the whole distance of twenty one miles between his camp and the capital was turned into a vast city with Hindus and Muslims jostling with one another and shops of all descriptions dealing with myriad ware sprang up on both sides of the long route. The Sultan was a guest in the place of his Hindu father-in-law for four days, and when he returned to his own capital Gulbarga he summoned Parthal and got her married to his son and heir Hasan Khan.

Parthal's episode is a pointer to the way the cultural wind of the Deccan was blowing in the early years of the fifteenth century.⁹

Muslims in Vijayanagar

Devaraya ruled the southern kingdom off and on till 1446. He was by no means satisfied with the fortunes of his army. In 1442 he summoned his privy council and posed the question why the Vijayanagar forces had to eat the humble pie whenever they met the Bahmanis on the field of battle although his Kingdom was more resourceful and controlled a wider area than the Bahmanis. On pondering over the problem the council split into two groups, the men of the sword and the men of religion. One group said that the world was passing through the *kaliyuga*, irreligion was the order of the day and there was no hope for the true faith to prosper till the present *yuga* had passed away. The other group was more realistic and perhaps more optimistic. It averred that the Muslims were experts in the arts of war, were fine horsemen and bowmen, and if the Raya were to recruit Muslims in his army it would turn the scales. Devaraya was struck by the logic of this reply and ordered the recruitment of Muslim soldiers, both officers and men, in his army. At the same time he ordered the construction of a mosque in the capital and allowed the Muslims freedom to carry on their religious duties without let or hinderance. The question now arose whether the new recruits would have to bow before the Raya when he sat in State, for a Muslim bowed only before the Almighty. A kind of compromise was therefore struck and *masnad* was spread by the side of the royal *gaddi* and a copy of the Qur'an placed on it so that the Muslim soldiers while bowing should feel that they were not making obeisance before a human mortal but the word of God.¹⁰

Hindu sacred places in the Deccan

It thus appears that however antagonistic the two kingdoms might have been on the political and military planes they were ever ready to condone the religious and cultural differences which existed between them. It was this cultural compromise that in spite of centuries of Bahmani rule the vast Kingdom remained interspersed with Hindu *tirthas* and *mathas* and these demonstrate a spirit of cultural compromise which was the hall-mark of the fifteenth century Deccan. It is reported that while on his *banabas* Shri Ramachandrajai stayed for a while at Nasik, which is now in Maharashtra State. This, along with Trimbak continued to be two great

9. The story of Parthal; Briggs: *Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India*, II, 378 ff; *Bahmanis*, 159-160; Nizamu'd-din Ahmad, *Tabaqat-i Akbar Shahi*, 411.

10. Briggs, II, 230-32. For Muslim officers in the Vijayanagar army see *Further Sources of Vijayanagara History*, I, 107.

places of pilgrimage for the devout Hindus, while Pandharpūr was the great centre of Bhakti movement in western India. It may be remarked that out of twelve *jyotirlingas* five were located in the Bahmani Sultanate, and one of the show-places at Tuljapur is the dedicatory inscription of Taju'd-din Firōz in the Bahmani temple¹¹.

Hindu influence

A remarkable feature of Muslim life in the fifteenth century Deccan is the direct non-Muslim influence which was brought to bear on it. As has been related above, it was Abmad Shah I who transferred the Bahmani capital to Bidar in 1424 and it was there that he was buried in 1436. He was surnamed *Waii* or Saint because of his piety, and even now his death anniversary or '*urs*' is celebrated at Bidar with great eclat in spite of the cataclysmic changes during the centuries which have changed the political face of the Deccan so many times. It is remarkable that this death anniversary is calculated not according to the Hijri reckoning but according to mixed Hijri and Śaka reckoning. The '*urs*' is celebrated on the 20th of the Hijri month in which the Holi festival of the Hindus happens to fall. Thus in the present year, 1973, the holi festival fell on March 19, corresponding to 13th Safar 1393 H. The '*urs*' was therefore celebrated on the 20th of Safar seven days later. It is again not a Muslim who initiates the ceremony but a *jangam* or priest who is the hereditary police patel of Madhyāl village. He belongs to Kudduvakkuliga caste and is a Śaivite by pe suation. It is he who enters the seq ulchre every day of the '*urs*' with a purely Hindu orchestra, crushes open a caconut according to the approved Hindu style and makes an offering of flowers to the grave. But this *jangam* is dressed as a Muslim faqir with a dervish cap on his head, a large staff in his hand and the flowing robes of a Muslim divine covering his body. This '*urs*' is even now attended by thousands of Hindus and Muslims without any distinction whatever.

Another interesting ceremony connected with the tomb is its daily worship of a representative of the Kavadērū caste every day in the name of Allama Prabhu by which name Shihabu'd-din Ahmed I is known among the Hindus of Bidar and its neighbourhood. The family holds the hereditary tenancy of certain plots of land in Ashtūr village near Bidar where the tombs of the Bahmani sultans are situated.¹²

11. See P.M. Joshi: "Social and Economic Conditions under the Bahmanis", Appendix to Ch. V, *History of Medieval Deccan*, I, 207-13.

12. Yazdani, *Bidar and its Monuments*, Plate XXV, has a photographed reproduction of the Jangam. The present writer owes the description of the daily worship at the tomb by a representation of the Kavaderu caste, to Shri L. L. Kulkarni of Bidar.

Dakhnis and Afaqis

Perhaps the most salient feature of the social and political life of the Deccan in the fifteenth century is the division of the élites into a number of groups. The Deccan has always been the meeting place, the *sangam*, of races and cultures and is sheltered like a tremendous fort by the Vindhya in the north, the Krishna-Tungabhadra Doab in the south, the Sahyadri Parbat in the west and the low-lying Eastern Ghats in the east. But there are gaps in both the eastern and western wings of the Vindhya through which the characteristic Narmada and the Tapti flow to the west, and the deltas of the Mahānadi, the Godavari and the Krishna lie in the east. These allow immigrants from the north, east and west to come and settle down in the region. We have to consider this phenomenon when dealing with the composition of the population.

There was, firstly the basic Hindu element most of which belonged to the so-called Dravidian stock with a leaven of fair-complexioned Aryans. They are divided into castes and sub-castes much in the fashion of Hindu castes in the rest of India. As elsewhere, the Brahmans were the highest in the hierarchy. There were then the progeny of the Muslims who came to the Deccan either as soldiers or administrators along with the Khaljis and the Tughluqs and who made the Deccan their home. They mostly settled down in the political centres of the region such as Daulatabad, Gulbarga and Bidar, rather strangely they came to call themselves "Dakhnis" *par excellence* to the exclusion of other elements. The third element of the population were the African Habashis who crossed the Arabian sea to the western Bahmani posts like Chaul and Dabhol; as they were small in number they allied themselves with one group or another, and in the fifteenth century they took their umbrage under the Dakhni roof. The fourth and increasingly important element of the population were the so-called *afaqis* or *gharibs* who migrated to the Deccan from Iran, Iraq, Khurasan and neighbouring regions. Their language, which was mostly Persian, their way of life and even their Shi'ah form of Islam differentiated them not only from the Hindus but also from the so-called Dakhnis and Habashis who belonged mostly to the Sunni persuasion. The independence of the Deccan in 1346 had virtually put an end to an influx of the Muslim population from the north but there was no political hindrance to the migration of overseas men of learning, merchants and adventures who came to the Deccan with their martial traditions and administrative background and began to make their mark in every walk of life to the chagrin of the Dakhnis and the Habashis. This feeling engendered a similar feeling among the Afāqis, and gradually a thick cultural screen was

created between the two factions resulting finally in the collapse of the Bahmani Kingdom about the end of the fifteenth century.¹³

Mahmūd Gāwān

One of the most prominent of the Afaqis was Khwaja Imadudin Mahmud Gawan who reached the Bahmani capital, Bidar, in 1453 and by sheer merit as an administrator, general, man of letters and a devotee to learning, made a mark in all walks of life. His great Madrasah at Bidar is still a living memento of the greatness of Bidar and the greatness of the man. It was Mahmud Gawan who extended the limits of the Bahmani Kingdom right up to Goa in the south and brought the whole region from sea to sea under Bahmani control. But the Dakhni-Afaqi quarrels led to a sordid intrigue against him and he was executed at Kondapalli near Vijayawada on the mere suspicion of treason by the order of the Sultan Muhammad III. Mahmud Gawan's execution spelt the steep decline of the Bahmani Kingdom to its quick end.¹⁴

A vivid description of life at the capital Muhammadabad-Bidar during the ministry of Mahmud Gawan is furnished by the travelogue of the Russian Afananius Nikitin who was in the Bahmani capital from 1469 to 1474 under the assumed name of Khwaja Yusuf Khurasani. It provides us with the story of the affluence of the Deccan under Mahmud Gawan as well as his affability. He calls Bidar "the chief town of Mahomedan Hindustan" and says that the city was 15 miles square in area, it abounded in trade in horses, cloth, silk, pepper and many other articles of trade. This was not all, for Nikitin says that as a general rule only articles produced in the Kingdom were found in the bazar, which shows that the region produced all that was required for even the most fastidious of its citizens. Besides the capital some other towns were centres of trade and commerce, such as Mustafabad-Dabhol and Ahsanabad-Gulbarga. Evidently Dabhol acted as the clearing house for horses which were brought to the Deccan from south India as well as from over the seas, and was the emporium for trade in horses in Bahmani Deccan as Goa was for Vijayanagar.

13. For the groupings of the Muslims of the Deccan in the fifteenth century see *Bahmanis*, 191 ff., 223 ff., 325, 366.

14. The cultural influence of Mahmud Gawan can best be gaged by the letters he addressed to kings, ministers and other dignitaries, included in the collection of his letters, the *Riazul Insha* for the evaluation of which see Sherwani, *Mahmud Gawan, the Great Bahmani Wazir*, pp. 217-226. For the list of letters in the collection see Appendix to Sherwani's article on "Riyazu'l-Insha as a source Book of Deccan History", *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission*, 1940, pp. 174-177.

Nikitin says that the nobles were carried on "silver beds" meaning palanquins, preceded by twenty chargers caprisoned in gold and followed by three hundred horsemen and five hundred footmen. This must have been the more powerful of the élites as every nobleman or minister could hardly afford all this pomp. Nikitin says the court of justice was located in the very sanctum of the royal palace and this must have given an additional importance to justice. He had the privilege of seeing the Sultan himself on the 'Id day when he was riding on a golden saddle in an embroidered dress studded with sapphires and a large diamond glittering on his turban.

He says that five hundred invitees sat down to dine with Mahmud Gawan, and is careful to state that "not all belonged to the high and the mighty", for there were usually only three ministers among them." After Mahmud Gawan's murder it transpired that the Khwaja himself lived on the profit of 40,000 lārīs which he had brought with him from Iran, out of which he spent just 12 laris per day on his own person.¹⁵

Twenty-seven years before Nikitin, in 1443, there arrived at Vijayanagar, 'Abdu'r-Razzāq, the envoy of Timurlane's grandson, Shah Rukh, ruler of Persia and Central Asia.¹⁶ He was at Vijayanagar for just eight months from April to December 1443, but he had a keen observant eye, and his description of the social life and wealth of the city is realistic and convincing as coming from a high officer of a Muslim potentate. There is not a tinge of prejudice in his writing. He was probably sent in the first instance to the court of the Zamorin of Calicut who was a powerful prince but in some ways subservient to Vijayanagar. So when Dēvarāya sent a message to the Zamorin to send 'Abdu'r-Razzaq to Vijayanagar he duly conveyed it to the honoured envoy. 'Abdu'r-Razzaq describes in some detail his overland journey from Mangalore to the capital of the southern Empire. He was struck by its affluence which was patent in the towns which he passed on the way. On arrival at Vijayanagar he was received by "a numerous cortege" to meet him and in the capital he was lodged in a handsome and commodious house.

He says that the kingdom extended from the border of the Bahmani kingdom right up to Cape Comorin. He noticed that the Vijayanagar army amounted to as many as eleven lakhs with more than a thousand elephants. He goes on to say that the power of

15. See Bahmanis 300-302 quoting Major, *India in the Fifteenth Century*, pp. 8-30.

16. A critical evaluation of 'Abdu'r-Razzaq's description of Vijayanagar will be found in Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, pp. 87-93.

the Rāya was absolute — more absolute than that of any other potentate in the whole of India.

He was so greatly struck by the beauty of the capital that he likens it to paradise itself which the eye had never seen and the ear had never heard anything similar to it. The town was strongly guarded by seven concentric walls; the guards at every gate were always alert and were constantly changing. Within the city the roads were straight and broad, as is evident even today by what is left of the Hampi Bazar, a remnant of the former glory. 'Abdu'r-Razzaq vouchsafes for the excellent aesthetic taste of the people and says that the city was full of roses, for the people looked upon roses as being as necessary as food itself. In the shopping centre "each class of men belonging to each profession had shops contiguous to each other" while jewellers' shops were full of pearls, rubies, emeralds and diamonds.

Vijayanagar, like Orissa, relied on elephants in war. 'Abdu'r Rāzzaq says that each elephant had a compartment reserved for it, and the elephants' stables must have covered a very large area perhaps outside the residential limits of the city. In the broad bazar behind the mint were placed "thrones and chairs" on which sat courtesans bedecked in gems and fine raiment.

'Abdu'r-Razzāq was summoned to the Rāya's palace. He saw the Rāya seated in a large hall surrounded by numerous courtiers ranged in a circle. He was dressed in a gorgeous green robe with his collar studded with gems of the finest water. He was a handsome man, thin and olive in complexion, and the envoy informs us, perhaps with some exaggeration, that he had as many as seven hundred princesses and concubines in his seraglio. He was present at Vijayanagar during the Rāmanavmi festival and describes the celebrations thus:

"In pursuance of the orders issued by the King, the generals and principal personages from all parts of the Empire.... presented themselves at the Palace. They brought with them a thousand elephants.... During three consecutive days... the vast space was magnificently decorated with numerous pavilions to the height of three, four or five stories covered from top to bottom into figures in relief."

The description of the two great capitals of the south, Bidar and Vijayanagar show the extraordinary resilience of the two Kingdoms, for in spite of almost incessant wars, they could keep up their standards and their affluence.

The Linguistic Pattern

(i) Persian

In the fifteenth century the idea of a unilingual State or even a unilingual province had not been ever conceived anywhere in the whole world. States were the result of historical evolution with their frontiers changing from time to time according to the strength or weakness of the centre symbolised by the ruling power. As has been detailed above, the Deccan was divided into two large political entities, the Bahmani Kingdom and the Rayaship of Vijayanagar. Both of these were multilingual, with Persian as the cementing force in the former and Telugu in the latter. Apart from these two languages with a political backing, Telugu was spoken in the eastern and southern parts of the State while Marathi was the language prevalent in its northern and western portions. These languages were found in their developed form in the fifteenth century, while Dakhni which was destined to be the parent of Urdu and the lingua franca of the whole of the Deccan in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, was just raising its head.

Persian had been nurtured by a succession of Bahmani Kings partly because the establishment of the Kingdom of the Deccan had seen the influx of the afaqi element from over the seas, while the official language of the Government even before their arrival was Persian. Again, from the beginning of its history, the Kingdom of the Deccan had associated Brahmans in their Government and this association carried the torch of Persian learning among the non-Muslim population of the region.¹⁷ Firoz Shah Bahmani's reign saw the florescence of learning and culture in the Deccan. He was not only a patron of learning and a linguist of note but also a poet of some reputation on himself with Uruji and Firozi as his *noms de poes*.

The last years of Firoz's reign were marred by his differences with Syed Muhammad Muhammad al-Husaini generally known as Hazrat Banda Nawaz Gesu Daraz. He was born at Delhi in 1321, came to settle down at Gulbarga in 1398-99 and died there in 1422, the year of Firoz's death. Hazrat Gesu Daraz has left us a number of valuable books on *tasawwuf* both in Arabic and Persian as well as an anthology of lyrical poems named *Anisu'l 'Ushshaq* or the "Com-

17. Muhammad Shah II (1378-97) invited the great Persian poet, Hafiz of Shiraz to the Deccan; *Ferishta*, I, 302. Persian learning under Firoz Shah Bahmani, *ibid.*, I, 319, *Bahmanis*, 147-49.

panion of the (spiritual) lovers.”¹⁸ Another prominent Persian poet was Shaikh Adhari, who wrote the *Bahman Nama* at the behest of Shihabu'd-din Ahmad I, besides a number of other works.

With the accession of Shihabu'd-din Ahmad I (1422-1436) his new capital Bidar became the rendezvous of Persian learning. The reign of Muhammad III, surnamed Lashkari (1463-1482), saw the arrival of Mahmud Gawan and his patronage of Persian learning. The collection of Mahmud Gawan's letters, the *Riyazu'l-Insha*, shows that he carried on regular correspondence with some of the foremost writers in Persia and adjacent lands such as Maulana Abdur-Rahman Jami, Khwaja 'Ubaidu'l-lah-al-Ahrar, Sharfu'd-din Ali Yazdi and many other literary men and savants. As has been related above, the execution of Mahmud Gawan in 1482 marks not only the end of the man but the end of an institution and the end of the dynasty. He was decapitated in 1481, but the next eighteen years of the century witnessed squabbles and wars and there was no time left for any cultural or linguistic advance.¹⁹

(ii) Telugu

Just as Persian was the link which joined the various regions of the Bahmani State together, so Telugu, the official language of Vijayanagar was the cement which joined the various regions of that Empire, which, like Dakhni, was to break political walls and infiltrate into one of the Bahmani Succession States about the beginning of the next Century. Telugu was already a well-developed language in the fifteenth century but its area had split up on the fall of the Kakatiyas in 1323 to a number of regions. Coastal Andhra began to be ruled by the Reddis of Kondavidu, parts of Tilagana by the Velamas of Rachakonda, and south-western portion by Vijayanagar. The region was thus under constant pressure from the north-east, south-west and west. In spite of these pressures Telugu continued to thrive, and there is a constant stream of writers ranging Nanniya, the purohit of Rajaraya I Chalukya (1018-1060) and the Kakatiya minister Tikkana Somayaji who flourished in the thirteenth century, to the great Srinatha, such as Yarrapagada, Nachana Somanatha and others.²⁰ Srinatha held the position of Vidyadhikari in the court of the

18. *Bahmanis*, 151, 179.

19. The execution of Mahmud Gawan, *Fer.*, I, 358; *Burhan-i Ma'athir*, 134, Badaoni, *Muntakhabu't-Tawarikh*, III, 110; Sakhawi, *Zau'l-lami'*, x, 144. The whole question of the precedents of the execution has been discussed in *Bahmanis*, 357, n. 123.

20. For the early development of Telugu, see Venkataraminayya, The "Kakatiyas of Warangal", *Early History of the Deccan*, ed. Yazdani, at pp. 691 ff.

great ruler Peda Komati Vema of Kondavidu who ruled from 1402 to 1420.²¹ The ruler himself was an author of note and wrote not only in his mother tongue Telugu but also in Sanskrit. In Srinatha's writings we find both the melody of the language and the vigour of the author, and "his works overflow with floods of liquid radiance and beauty". Srinatha was not only a past master of Telugu diction but excelled in his translations of Sanskrit works, and his rendition of *Naishadhiya Charitra* deals with the well-known story of Nala and Damayanti. Srinatha was a Saivite, and it is no wonder that his *Haravilasa*, which concerns the cosmic acts of Siva, as well his *Bhimesvara Puranam* are Saivite in essence. In his latter works he proves that he does not write merely as a devotee of Siva but as one who has the supreme power of the pen to describe natural scenery as he saw it.

Coming to the eastern portion of the Telugu region, we find some minor poets who flourished in Tilangana such as Jakanna, the author of *Vikramarkka Charitra*, extolling the deeds of Vikramaditya, and Anantamatya's *Bhojarajeevan* extolling the deeds of the legendary Raja Bhoja.²²

Telugu had not yet crossed the Bahmani borders, but recently a Telugu poem the *Rajamiti Saramu*, a palm-leaf manuscript, has been discovered. The writer, Nebati Krishnayamatya seems to have been connected with the Bahmani court.

It is strange that Vijayanagar, which was to cultivate Telugu and make it reach the pinnacle of literary glory in that language, did not come into prominence as a literary centre till the last two decades of the fifteenth century. It was Saluva Narasimha (1485-93) who was one of the first rulers of Vijayanagar to have patronised Telugu as a literary language. One of his associates, was Tallapaka Annamacharya who was born in the Cuddapah district and who was the originator of the devotional form the Samkirtana with songs for children, grown-up persons and old people, which made a mark in Telugu literature. His son Tirumalacharya, was as great as his father in that line and in some ways even surpassed him in his devotional songs. As those belonging to the Tallapaka School were all Vaishnavites they gyrated to the famous shrine of Shri Venkateshwara at Tirupati.²³

21. For Srinatha and Peda Komati Vema see Ramesan's chapter on "The Reddi Kingdoms and Other Minor States", *History of Medieval Deccan*, Volume I, at page 531-33.

22. A. Rudra, *Samgra Andhra Sahityamu*, Vol. VI.

23. Annamacharya's life has been related by Cinnanna: *Annamacharya Charitra*, published by the Tirupati Devasthanam.

Before the fifteenth century came to a close another Telugu writer appeared on a literary horizon, Pillalamarri Pina Virabhadra who was also attached to the court of Saluva Narasimha. Quite a number of stories have been woven round the life of this great poet. He made such an impression on the literary circle of Vijayanagar that people began to believe that it was Saraswati, the goddess of learning who was his direct inspirer. Unfortunately only two of his major works are extant, namely *Sringara Sakuntalamu*, the Telugu rendering of Kalidasa's famous story, and *Jaimini Bharatamu* which deals with the Asvamedha sacrifice of the Pandavas and which is dedicated to his patron.

But this was only an infinitesimal portion of the patronage accorded to Telugu by the Vijayanagar court. The flower blossomed in its full glory during the reign of Krishnadevaraya (1509-1529) who was himself a poet and patron of chaste Telugu poetry. But he falls outside our present survey.

(iii) *Kannada*

Kannada language was under the influence both of Telugu, to which it was allied, and to Sanskrit, but it appears that it had already attained an individuality of its own by the twelfth century.²⁴ This transformation and development of the language were the work mainly of the Jaina and Virasaiva writers who flourished in the region right up to the end of the fifteenth century and beyond.

There was a certain amount of difference between the development of Kannada literature in the two groups, for while the Jainas used the language for the development of the emotional epic style, the Virasaiva group developed it on the *desi* or popular lines. The fourteenth century was the century of the tug of war between the Hoysalas and the Yadavas and this barred much literary progress. But with the foundation of Vijayanagar the stage for the simultaneous progress of Telugu and Kannada was set.

As was the case with Telugu this progress was on religious lines and it had a certain amount of propaganda value in its outlook. The Vijayanagar state was catholic so far as Hindu tradition was concerned and Jaina, Lingayat and Virasaiva poets were free to propagate their tenets.

24. For a general history of the Kannada language, see R. S. Mugali, *Kannada Sahitya Charitra*. The author of this paper owes his debt of gratitude to Dr. P. B. Desai's learned section on Kannada Language and Literature which would be included in the projected Volume 2 of *Medieval Deccan History*.

The fifteenth century saw this tendency in its full bloom. Thus Chamarasa wrote his *Prabhulingalile* on the life of Allama Prabhu as an incarnation of Siva. The work was popular not only among the Kannada speaking population but also in Telugu and Tamil regions, and it was translated in both these languages. Another Virasaiva writer was Nijagunasiva who was so much devoted to Siva as one God that he renounced the world and was proud to affix the epithet "yogi" to his name. His magnum opus is his book of songs in praise of Siva the *Kavalya paddhati*. He has to his credit a number of other works but they deal with the lives of the saints, the attainment of salvation and kindred subjects of a religious nature, the whole topped by his *Vivekachintamani* which is a kind of encyclopaedia covering 765 topics of important aspects of life, mainly religious.

The rise of Virasaiva doctrine and of Brahman writers would have killed Jaina literature, but it was saved by the catholic spirit then prevailing at Vijayanagar. It is however evident that the later Virasaiva poets could not attain the same height as in the previous decades. On the other hand there were a number of prominent Jaina Kannada poets in the earlier phase of the Vijayanagar history, such as Bahubali and Madhura both of whom flourished about the end of the fourteenth century. In the beginning of the fifteenth century Madhura came under the influence of his patron Lakshmidhara, a minister of Devaraya I of Vijayanagar (1406-1422). There is an inscription extant in one of the temples of Vijayanagar with the date corresponding to 1410, the authorship of which is ascribed to Madhura. There were other writers of note such as Mangarasa who died in 1508 and Bhaskara whose work, the *Jivandharacharitra*, is a mixture of adventure, romance and moral lessons.

Kannada languages took many strides in the centuries following Madhura.

*Daknni or Proto-Urdu*²⁵

As there was almost a parallel development of two "Dravidian" languages, Telugu and Kannada, in the Deccan, in the same way Marathi and Dakhni, both of which had an Indo-Aryan base, grew side by side right up to the fifteenth century although their florescence

25. The epithet "proto-Urdu" has been used for the phase of the language which is variously used as "qadim Urdu" or "Dakhni Urdu" by some authors, although its vocabulary and even its structure are different from Urdu as spoken today. The prefix "proto" is used in scores of English words such as proto-history, protocol, proto-fascism, proto-type etc. and while it refers to an individuality it also denotes a continuity.

was still to come in later epochs. A hazy beginning may be perceived in the case of both as literary media as early as the thirteenth century although there is no doubt that a considerable development was made even earlier. While the invasions of 'Alau'd-din Khalji brought to the Deccan 'the Dialect of Dihli', (which was the result of the intermixture of the local idiom and the language spoken by the Perso-Turkish armies from the North-West, Muhammad bin Tughluq's making Devagiri (renamed Daulatābād) situated in the heart of Maharashtra, as the second capital of his vast Empire brought the language face to face with Marathi with the possibility of a mutual give-and-take between them.

While in North India the *Zaban-i-Dihlavi*²⁶ had already crossed the literary border early in the fourteenth century and had become the vehicle of Amir Khusro's thought, in the Deccan it was till the end of that century that it first entered the literary field. Like Amir Khusro it was a saint, steeped in Sufism, Syed Muhammad Muhammad al-Husaini, surnamed Hazrat Banda Nawaz Gesu Daraz who set the fashion to clothe his philosophic thoughts in the Dakhni or proto-Urdu medium. His most important work in the Dakhni idiom is the *Mi'raju'l-'Ashiqin*, a highly learned prose work on mysticism, while his other works in Dakhni are *Bara Masa* or the "Twelve Months" and *Shikar Nama* or the "Book of the Hunt" which is an allegorical work, are important in the history of Dakhni literature.²⁷ Hazrat Banda Nawaz's son Muhammad Akbar Husaini and his grandson, Syed 'Abdu'l-lah Husaini are also credited for work on Sufism. It was only natural that the tilt in these books should be towards religion, morality and the correct way of life. The stories relating to the martyrdom of Imam Husain and his followers at Karbala soon became a favourite with Dakhni writers. Perhaps the first poetic work on the theme was Ashraf's mathnawi, the *Nausarhar*,²⁸ written in Ahamadnagar in 1503. This was followed by many other such compositions and a whole series of dirges were composed in later centuries mainly in Bijapur and Golkonda.

When the capital of the Bahmani Kingdom was transferred from Gulbarga to Bidar the literary scene also shifted to that city, and one of the earliest work was Nizami's mathnawi entitled *Kadam Rao Padam*

26. The expression has been used for the first time by Amir Khusro in his mathnavi *Nuh Sipihir*.

27. *Mi 'raju'l-'Ashiqin* was first edited by the late Dr. Abdul Haq and published by the Anjuman Taraqqi-i Urdu. *Chukki Nama*, Idara Adabiyat-i Urdu Library, No. 120 A.

28. *Nausarhar*, MS., Idara Adabiyat Urdu, Tadhkira Urdu Makhtutat, I, 17.

Rao which was completed early in the fifteenth century during the reign of 'Alau'd-din Ahmad II (1436–1458). It is a voluminous work consisting of 2000 couplets which shows that the language had already attained maturity. The similarity between the Dakhni and the Marathi bases can be seen in the profusion of original Sanskritic forms in the former which perhaps exceed the Perso-Arabic forms in the mathnavi *Kadam Rao Padam Rao*.²⁹

The end of the fifteenth century saw the disruption of the Bahmani Kingdom and the establishment of five succession States. This gave vent to a further development of the Dakhni idiom which attained such an eminence that it was declared an official language by Ibrahim Adil Shah II (1580-1627) under the garb of Hindawi.

(iv) *Marathi*

The early development of the Marathi language was more or less on religious lines.³⁰ There was considerable literary output under the Yadavas whose dominion, centered at Devagiri, (later named Daulatabad), was situated in the heart of Maharashtra, and it was only natural that their rule should see the early development of the language. The earliest work in the Marathi language is supposed to be *Vivekasindhu* which was compiled by Mukundaraja of Ambe-Jogai (Mominabad, Bir district) in S 1110/1032. As early as in the thirteenth century Marathi was already a vehicle for abstruse thought symbolised in the minister Hemadri's works.³¹ Thenceforward we perceive two parallel traditions in the development of the language, one headed by Jnanadeva and the other by Chakradhara the founder of the Mahanubhava cult. Jnanadeva's name is writ large in the history of the Marathi language, as his book the *Jnaneshwari* written in 1290 is one of the earliest commentaries of the Bhagvada-gita in Marathi. After Jnanadeva's death the thread of his thought was taken up by the saint Namadeva. He is said to have travelled widely and is reputed to have met Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq (1325-1351). Among other things which he taught was the Unity of God and that Hinduism and Islam were not basically different for it is the devotion to God which is common to both. He decried caste system and idol-worship, and it is no wonder that some of his

29. Unique Manuscript of this mathnawi in the library of Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu, Karachi; see Sakhawāt Mirza's article, "Mathnawi Kadam Rao Padam Rao", *Urdu Adab*, Aligarh, 1966, p. 4.

30. For the early history of the languages see R. C. Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Deccan*, App. C.

31. Hemadri was the minister of Mahadeva (1260-71) and of his successor Ramachandra (1211-1309) the Yadava rulers of Devagiri.

abhangas or hymns have found their way into Granth Sahib, the holy book of the Sikhs.³²

Chakradhara, the founder of the Mahanubhava cult, lived up to 1274. He taught the complete detachment from mundane affairs as far as possible. His teachings, which were embodied in his *sutra-pathas* or aphorisms were short and pithy couched in easy language which could be understood by all and sundry. His life-story, or *Lilacharitra* by Mhaibhata has an importance of its own as it is the earliest biography of a literary master in the Marathi language. The school of literature initiated by Chakradhara taught that Bhakti or a complete devotion to God was a kind of connecting link between the individual and the Universal Soul.

The fourteenth and the fifteenth century meant a set-back in the development of Marathi literature caused by invasions from the north, the conquest of the region by the Khalji and the Tughluq armies and the establishment of the Bahmani Kingdom with Persian as its court language.³³ This naturally led to the grafting of Persian words and even phrases on the Marathi language in general and administration in particular. It may be noticed that no literary work of any great merit in Marathi was compiled in the fourteenth century. But a kind of faint renaissance of Marathi culture is visible early in the fifteenth century when Bhanudasa (1448-1513) is said to have brought back the image of the god Vitthala to Pandharpur from Hampi where it had been taken by Krishnadevaraya of Vijayanagar.

Bhanudasa's great-grandson, Ekanath (1533-1590) was one of the foremost literary and religious figures of the sixteenth century Maharashtra. He was a great believer in the message left by Jnanadeva and actually brought out a new edition of *Jnaneshwari*. Another great name in the later history of Marathi is that of the saint Ramadas (1608—1681), the preceptor of Shivaji. Of course both Ramadas and Shivaji shine long after the expiry of the fifteenth century, but their service to Maratha history and Marathi culture cannot be passed by. It was Shivaji who made the language a vehicle of political thought and administration as it had been a vehicle mainly of religious thought so far. Under the Peswas, Marathi spread fan-like in practically the whole of India and followed the Maratha ensign from Agra and Delhi and even Lahore to Tanjavur and from Konkan to Calcutta. But of course that is the story of later years.

H. K. Sherwani

32. Macauliffe; *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. VI.

33. See Maulvi Abdul Haq's article on "The Influence of Persian on Marathi", *Islamic Culture*, 1936, pp. 553-632; Sherwani: *Cultural Trends in Medieval India*, p. 71.

SHAIKH AHMAD MAGHRIBI AS A GREAT HISTORICAL PERSONALITY OF MEDIEVAL GUJARAT

The rise of the provincial kingdoms of Jaunpur, Bengal, Malwa, Gujarat and the Deccan was preceded by a cultural revolution in which sufis, saints, scholars and poets played a very vital role and ushered in the dawn of an era of cultural efflorescence and literary activity unprecedented in the annals of these regions. The keynote of this cultural revolution was a search for regional cultural identity in an attempt to involve and utilize the local talent in the evolution of new cultural patterns rooted in the soil. The saints, in particular, initiated and enlivened those forces of rapprochement between the various culture-groups without which no stable political order could take its shape. These kingdoms consequently ceased to be an expression of centrifugalism, and became symbols of the cultural vitality of those areas. The saints identified themselves with the local elements: spoke their dialects, adopted their customs and practices and when regional cultural aspirations sought their self-expression, their hospices wove themselves into that culture-pattern. The founders of the new provincial kingdoms made full use of the influence that the sufi-saints exercised over the local population and made huge endowments for the maintenance of their *khanqahs*, *zawiyahs* and *jama' at khanahs*. The role of Sayyid Nur Qutb-i Alam (ob. 813/1410) in the history of Bengal, Sayyid Muhammad Gisu Daraz (ob. 826/1422) in the history of the Deccan, and Shaikh Ahmad Maghribi (ob. 849/1447) in the history of Gujarat is too significant to be ignored. Many of the cities of this period—like Ahmadabad, Burhanpur, Gulbarga—which remained for centuries the focal point of cultural activity in those areas, were founded at the instance of the saints and the regional languages received from them a fillip which can hardly be over-emphasized.

This paper aims at introducing one such historic figure of medieval India—Shaikh Ahmad Maghribi of Gujarat.

The life-story of Shaikh Ahmad Maghribi unfolds itself with the thrill and excitement of a drama. Living up to the patriarchal age of 111 years,¹ he passed through many vicissitudes of fortune, bore for years with courage and fortitude the pangs of poverty and hunger and, when circumstances changed, enjoyed making lavish gifts to the people; wandered alone

1. Born in 737/1336, he breathed his last in 849/1447. Thus according to lunar era he was 111 years and according to solar era 108 years when he died.

in distant lands rejecting all sorts of bonds and affiliations and when he decided to settle in Gujarat, he became instrumental in the building of the new township of Ahmadabad. He saw life in all its light and shade, richness and poverty, and reacted to every situation with a sincerity and courage which elicited praise from all and sundry and raised his stature head and shoulders above many of his contemporaries. Born at Delhi in 1336, when Muhammad bin Tughluq ruled there, he was a child of tender age when a cyclone separated him from his parents. Baba Ishaq, a saint of Delhi, found him in some village, picked him up and brought him up like a son. When he grew up, he did many penances which reduced his body to a mere skeleton. When his master died, he was so deeply shocked and grieved that he lost all interest in life and left on his aimless wanderings—without a penny in his pocket and without a destination in his mind. He sailed for the Hajj pilgrimage and accidentally fell into the ocean; sailors rescued him with great difficulty. When he returned to India after twelve years of arduous wanderings, he reached Delhi to meet another great misfortune. He was taken into custody by the soldiers of Timur, but was subsequently set free and at his intercession many other citizens of Delhi also secured their release. Thus tossed by one cyclone after another, Shaikh Ahmad ultimately settled at Sarkhej destined to play his historic role in the annals of Gujarat. He became the patron-saint of the ruling house of Gujarat. The city of Ahmadabad with its lofty buildings, crowded streets and humming markets pronounced to the world the esteem in which he was held by the Sultans. People from all walks of life—rich and poor, Hindus and Muslims, villagers and townsfolk—visited his *khanqah* and the annual expenses of his free kitchen ran above a lac *tankas*. His fame travelled from Sarkhej in Gujarat to Pandua in Bengal and Uchch in Sind.

Sources of Information

Unfortunately our sources of information for the life, thought and activities of Shaikh Ahmad Maghribi are not as exact and comprehensive as one would have wished them to be. The Shaikh himself had written a *Risalah* which he dedicated to Sultan Ahmad Shah². Haji al-Dabir used a commentary on this brochure, entitled *Sharh-i Risalah*, by Abi Hamid bin Ibrahim,³ in preparing an account of the life of the Shaikh.

The earliest and by far the most important source of information

2. *Zafar ul Walih bi Muzaffar wa Alihi*, English Translation, M.F. Lokhandwala, Baroda, 1970 Vol. I, p. I.

3. A copy of the *Risalah* is preserved in the Dargah Library of Pir Muhammad Shah in Ahmadabad.

for the life of the Shaikh is his *malfuz*, *Tuhfat-ul Majalis*,⁴ compiled by his disciple Mahmud b. Sa'd b. Sadr Sufi Irijī.⁵ The *Tuhfat-ul-Majalis*, notwithstanding the value of the information it contains about the life of the Shaikh, is a work of inferior quality as a *malfuz*. Maulana Mahmud's approach seems to have been determined by two considerations : first, to present his spiritual master as a saint with extraordinary miraculous powers and, secondly, to establish himself as one who enjoyed his spiritual master's confidence more than anybody else. Both these considerations were bound to have an impact on the treatment of the subject. *Tuhfat-ul-Majalis* consequently appears wrapped all through in a supernatural atmosphere which fascinates one interested in miracles but disappoints a serious student of history anxious to trace the impact of his teachings on the contemporary trends of thought. It is not without reason that Nizamuddin Ahmad b. Muhammad Salih al-Siddiqui, who compiled his *Karamat-ul-Auliya* in 1069/1650 during the reign of Shah Jahan, with a view to highlighting the miracles of saints, considered this book as very useful (کتابی بس مفید است).⁶

Maulana Mahmud says in his preface to *Tuhfat-ul-Majalis* that he had obtained permission from his master⁷ for preparing a collection of his conversations. It appears, however, that Mahmud Irijī did not record the conversations regularly and as they took place but prepared his work on the basis of his reminiscences. This will be clear even from a cursory glance at the contents of the *majalis*. Events which took place during a span of several years have been put together in one *majlis* in order to bring out the

4. I have used the India Office manuscript, Persian Collection D.P. 979. An Urdu translation, based on another manuscript available in the library of the Dargah of Pir Muhammad Shah of Ahmadabad (No. 8/471), was published by Sayyid Abu Zafar Nadavi Ma'arif Press Azamgarh, 1939.

5. For a brief biographical account of Mahmud Irijī, see *Mir'at-i Ahmadi* Supplement pp. 34-35.

6. *Karamat-ul-Auliya*, British Museum, Or. 1721, p. 765.

7. ff. 2a-4a.

یک روزے عرض کرد کہ از توجه حضرت همه چیز یافته ایم ، توقع آنست که از الفاظ زبان مبارک جمع آرم تا در جهان یادگار بماند - التماس اجازت دارم ، بهر چه امر شود - فرمودند کہ بابا اگر بخاطر تو چنین میرسد ، بنویس - این ضعیف از کمال شوق هر دو دست بر سر نهاده آنچه در مجلس شریف سعید شنیده می شود مجلس به مجلس نوشته می آید - ... و نام این مجموعه تحفته المجالس نامیده شد -

miracle element in them. The complier, not the Shaikh, was responsible for this as is evident from the trend of the narrative. An irresistible temptation with the disciples is to attribute miracles to their spiritual masters and unless this tendency is sternly checked by a Shaikh, *mal'fuz* tend to become collections of miracle stories. Shaikh Nasiruddin Chiragh of Delhi checked this tendency⁸ in Hamid Qalandar, compiler of *Khair-ul-Majalis*, and the result was that no miracle of the Shaikh could find a place in his *mal'fuz*. Had Shaikh Ahmad also exercised the same check on Maulana Mahmud—but perhaps he never had an occasion to see the book—the result would have been a more reliable collection of the saint's sayings. This shortcoming of *Tuhfat-ul-Majalis* necessitates a critical effort to separate the chaff from the grain and to cull historical facts from a labyrinth of incredible miracle stories.

Another collection of Shaikh Ahmad's collections was made by Muhammad b. Abil Qasim.⁹ It is divided into 16 *fasls* and has more the arrangement of a treatise than a *mal'fuz*. The contents are more or less the same as covered in *Tuhfat-ul-Majalis*. Mulla Abdul Qadir Badauni refers to a work *Maqamat-i Shaikh Ahmad Maghribi* in his *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*¹⁰ but this work is not available now. Shaikh Abdul Haqq Muhaddith Dihlavi has used *Tuhfat-ul-Majalis* in his account of the Shaikh in *Akhbar-ul-Akhyar*.¹¹ Brief biographical references to the Shaikh are found in *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*,¹² *Zafar-ul-Walih*,¹³ *A'in-i-Akbari*,¹⁴ *Gulzar-i-Abrar*,¹⁵ *Mir'at-ul-Asrar*,¹⁶ *Ma'arij-ul-Walayati*¹⁷ and *Mir'at-i-Ahmadi*.¹⁸ Almost all the provincial histories of Gujarat make respectful references to the Shaikh, but substantially the information supplied by these works does not add anything to the details provided by Mahmud Irijī.

8. *Khair-ul-Majalis*, p. 289. Hamid Qalandar says :

نفس خود بحدی شکسته اند که اگر شیخ نویسم
خوش نشوند و اگر کرامت بگویم برنجند

(He has broken his ego to such an extent that he is displeased if I write (the word) Shaikh for him and if I tell his miracle, he is offended.)

9. Manuscript in Asiatic Society of Bengal, Ivanow, pp. 91-93.

10. Vol. I pp. 207-271.

11. Mujtabai Press, Delhi, 1309 A.H. pp. 153-158.

12. Edited by S.C. Misra and M.L. Rahman, Baroda 1961, pp. 34, 56-68.

13. Translated by M.F. Lokhandwala, Baroda 1970, i et seq.

14. Edited by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, 11 p. 212.

15. MS (Personal Collection).

16. MS (Personal Collection), pp. 869-875.

17. MS (Personal Collection), Vol. II, pp. 537-542.

18. *Supplement*, Edited by S. Nawab Ali, Calcutta 1930, pp. 33-34.

Early Life

According to Abul Fazl, Shaikh Ahmad was born in a noble family of Delhi¹⁹ in 737/1336'. A tempest of wind carried him away from his home. Baba Ishaq found him in a village and took him under his protection.

Baba Ishaq was a native of Delhi and was held in esteem by Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq²⁰. But no saint could ever be sure of the Sultan's regard for him, as he had come under the influence of Ibn-i Taimiya's ideology and demanded from the saints active cooperation in the implementation of his various projects.²¹ Baba Ishaq was always painfully conscious of this fact. In his later years when Firuz Shah Tughluq sent a letter to him, he asked the *Imam* of the mosque to read it out from the pulpit. When the letter was being read, the Baba turned pale and his hair stood erect in horror. Shaikh Ahmad was surprised to see his master so horror-stricken, particularly when the letter contained respectful references to the Shaikh. When he enquired about the reason, Baba Ishaq replied:

نفس خود را تفهم می کردم که باین اعتقاد مغرور نشوی و نظر
بران داشتم که مقام سلطان محمد تغلق شاه است و ماجرائی او یاد می
کردم - به جهت این مویها ایستاده شده بود - درویش باید که به
التفات اغنیاء خورسند نشود

(I tried to assess if my ego had made me proud at the respect (shown by the Sultan) and I kept in view the fact that he occupied the place of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq Shah and I recollected his dealings. It was for this reason that my hair stood erect. A *durwesh* should not feel happy at the attachment shown by the rich people).

However, during the time of Firuz Shah Tughluq, Baba Ishaq attained considerable fame and many nobles, including Razi-ul-Mulk,²² *naib-i 'arz*, joined the circle of his disciples. Due to Razi-ul-Mulk's attachment with him, many soldiers of the army also joined his dis-

19. *A'in-i-Akbari*, V. II pp. 212. Haji al-Dabir, however, says on the authority of the *Sharh Risalah* that he was born at Khattu in the district of Nagaur. Vol. I, p. 1.

20. *Gulzar-i-Abrar*, MS.

21. See Nizami, *Salatin-i-Delhi Kay Mazhabi Rujhanat*, Delhi 1958, pp. 336-337, also *Comprehensive History of India*, Vol V. pp. 495-496.

22. Amongst the officers of Muhammad bin Tughluq, Barani mentions the name of Malik Razi-ul-Mulk as وزیر معتبر (*Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi* p. 454). Yahya writes that

cipline.²³ Baba Ishaq spent some time in prayers and penitences at the Masjid-i Khan-i-Jahan which was a great centre of mystic activity in those days. Abdur Rahman Chishti says that he made particular effort to conceal his miraculous powers (همیشه در ستر کرامت می پوشید).²⁴

According to Abul Fazl, Baba Ishaq settled at Khattu—a rocky area in Nagaur district, known for its yellow sandstone⁴ quarries but without a blade of grass and suffering from chronic shortage of water supply—on a spiritual direction from Khwaja Mu'in-uddin Chishti.²⁵

Baba Ishaq belonged to a famous mystic order of Africa known as *Silsilah-i-Maghribiya*.²⁶ When on his mystic itinerary, he reached Kaym in Maghrib. Here he met a saint Haji Muhammad Kaymi who had performed Hajj forty times in his life and was known for his piety and devotion. Baba Ishaq decided to lay his head at the feet of such a master.²⁷ The Maghribi order had certain peculiar features which distinguished it from all other mystic silsilahs of the medieval period; one of them being that there were only five persons in the genealogical table between Baba Ishaq and the Prophet of Islam, while in other *silsilahs* the number was at least the double. The reason for this, as pointed out by Shaikh Abdul Haqq Muhaddith Dihlawi, was the longevity of the saints of the *silsilah*.²⁸ Every one of them had attained the age of 150 years and

his name was Hamid Kumli. (*Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi*, p. 98). Afif pays tribute to him in these words :

”دراں ایام ملک رضی اهل اکرام کہ یکے از اولیای عظام بود ،
نیابت عارضی“ ممالک داشت و کار حشم درگاه بواجبی می آراست“

Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi, p. 299.

23. *Tuhfat-ul-Majalis*, f 61b.

24. *Mir'at-ul-Asrar*, (MS) p. 865.

25. "It is quarried in blocks, large and small, takes a fine polish, and is eminently suitable for carving and lattice-work. It has been used locally for building purposes for ages, but very little was exported till 1902 when a demand for it arose in Sind." *Rajputana Gazetteer*, Vol. III—A, *The Western Rajputana States Residency and the Bikaner Agency*, ed. by K.S. Erskine Allahabad 1909, p. 115.

26. *A'in-i Akbari*, II, p. 212.

Mir'at-ul-Asrar, (MS) pp. 865-866.

27. The *silsilah-i-Maghribiya* was founded by Shaikh Abu Madyan al-Maghribi, a distinguished mystic teacher of his day, who has been respectfully referred to by Ibn-i-'Arabi in his works, *Futuhāt-i-Makkīya* and *Fusus-ul-Hikam*. For brief biographical notice, see Jami, *Nafuhat-ul-Uns*, Nawal Kishore Edition 1915, pp. 473-476.

28. *A'in-i-Akbari*, II, p. 212.

some of them even more.²⁹ This may be a pure myth, but the faith of the people in this peculiarity of the *silsilah* was almost widespread in Africa and India.

Baba Ishaq brought up Shaikh Ahmad with the care and affection of a mother. At night he would place him on his bosom and sing lullaby. Sometimes his urine or stool spoiled his clothes; he got up, washed his clothes and again placed him on his bosom. He bought a goat—which he named as *Putli* (پتلی)—and fed Ahmad on its milk. One day a great saint-scholar Shaikh Abdullah happened to visit Baba Ishaq. The visitor was a man of erudition and carried with him a camel load of books. There was nothing in the household to entertain the guest and Baba Ishaq thought of slaughtering the goat. He sought Ahmad's permission for this as he was very much attached to his goat. Though of tender age, Ahmad was very sharp in intelligence. He replied :

وجود گوسفند چه خواهد بود اگر مرا ذبح کنید راضی ام

(What is after all a goat. If (you) slaughter me even, I am prepared for it.)

When the food was ready, Ahmad was called to join but he apologized saying :

شیر این گوسفند خورده ام گوشت او را چگونه بخورم³⁰

(I have taken the milk of this goat, how can I take its meat ?)

When the meal was over, Baba Ishaq blessed the souls of "*auliya-wa-anbia*" (saints and prophets). Shaikh Abdullah objected to this and said that he should have referred to the prophets first and to the saints latter, as the prophets occupy a higher place than the saints. Baba Ishaq called Ahmad and sought his opinion on the matter. "The progress is from down upwards", replied the boy and dazzled every one present by his intelligence. Shaikh Abdullah got up in excitement, lifted him up and kissed him.³¹

Shaikh Ahmad seems to have received his education at the feet of eminent teachers of Delhi. These were the days of Muhammad bin Tughluq and there existed nearly one thousand *madra-*

29. *Akhbar-ul-Akhyar*, p. 153.

30. *Tuhfat-ul-Majalis*, f 4 a b. In the manuscript of *Tuhfat-ul-Majalis* used by A.Z. Nadvi پتلی appears for سہیلی.

31. *Tuhfat-ul-Majalis*, f. 7 b.

*sahs*³² and a host of distinguished scholars whom the bounty of the Sultan had attracted from distant lands were also living there. Having completed his study of external sciences (*ulum-i-zahir*) Shaikh Ahmad turned to the culture of his soul. His brilliant performance in the academic gatherings of Harat and Samarqand in later years, about which reference is made in the *malfuzat*³³, could not have been possible without thorough early education in religious sciences.

Penitences

Under the instructions of his spiritual master, Shaikh Ahmad performed many rigorous ascetic practices in the Masjid-i-Khan-i-Jahan. He fasted almost continuously and at the time of *iftar* took only some کنجاره (residue of seeds from which oil had been squeezed out). While he was thus fasting and praying in a lonely corner of the *Masjid*, Sayyid Jalal uddin Bukhari Makhdum-i-Jahanian (ob. 785/1384) happened to visit Delhi and stayed in the same mosque. Firuz Shah Tughluq used to visit him off and on. Finding the Sultan respectful towards him, nobles also began to throng in large numbers round Makhdum-i-Jahanian. The Masjid-i-Khan-i-Jahan presented two contrast spectacles of saints : one living in seclusion, devoted to spiritual exercises, unnoticed by any person of significance; the other living with great pomp surrounded by many dignitaries of the Tughluq Court. One day Baba Ishaq told his young disciple :

بابا احمد ! شما هم مرید ایشان شوید که بادشاه و جمیع خلایق
و دولت مندان در پیش ایشان می آیند و رجوع دارند - بابوے شما
درویشے مسکین است ، جامه دلق در بر دارد و کلاه بر سر³⁴

(Baba Ahmad ! You should also get yourself enrolled as a disciple (of Makhdum-i-Jahanian) as the King, all people and rich persons come to him and have attraction towards him. Your Baba (referring to himself) is a poor *dervish* who has only tattered garments over his body and a cap over his head.)

This was a subtle way to discover if Shaikh Ahmad had any worldly ambition. Shaikh Ahmad however expressed his firm resolve to remain attached to him despite his poverty. Thereupon Baba

32. *Tuhfat-ul-Majalis*, Majalis II, ff. 4 b-ba

33. *Subh-ul-Asha*, English translation O. Spies, 'An Arab Account of India in the fourteenth century', p. 29.

34. *Tuhfat-ul-Majalis*, f. 62b.

Ishaq forecast a brilliant future for him and remarked : "Baba Ahmad ! Kings would come to your door and your spiritual fame will spread far and wide." When rulers and princes actually thronged his house at Sarkhej his mind went back again and again to the blessings of his master. Sayyid Jalaluddin Bukhari Makhdum-i- Jahanian somehow came to know about Shaikh Ahmad's penitences. One day he came to see him seated in a *palki*. Shaikh Ahmad came out of his cell to receive the distinguished visitor. As soon as Makhdum-i- Jahanian saw him, he got down from his *palki* and embraced him uttering again and again:

اے جوان بوئے دوست می آید

(Young man ! I smell in you the odour of the friend)³⁵

At Khattu

Later on Shaikh Ahmad accompanied his spiritual master to Khattu and lived there with him for a number of years. One day he took his master's leave to visit Didwana in the district of Nagaur. During his absence Baba Ishaq fell ill and a messenger was sent to bring him back. Baba Ishaq was on his death bed when he arrived. The governor of Khattu, who was present there at that time, referred to Shaikh Ahmad as "Mir Ahmad". Baba Ishaq was displeased at this and said : "Don't call him *Mir* Ahmad, call him *Pir* Ahmad. I want to make him a saint." So saying he conferred his *kulah* on him and blessed him. In his last moments, Baba Ishaq asked Shaikh Ahmad to recite something. He recited the following couplets which the dying saint interpreted as a happy augury for his blissful life after death:³⁶

خدای جہاندار جان آفرین حکیم سخن بر زبان آفرین
خداوند بخشندہ دستگیر کریم خطا بخش پوزش پذیر

He uttered *یا حی یا قیوم* and his long life came to an end (17 Sha'ban, 676 A.H.)³⁷ He was buried in a grave which was dug during his illness under his own supervision.

Baba Ishaq's death was a severe shock to Shaikh Ahmad. He was deprived of his father, mother and spiritual master all combined. He starved for many days. The inmates of the *khanqah* who did not want

35. *Tuhfat-ul-Majalis*, f. 12b.

Akhbar ul Akhyar, p. 155.

36. *Majlis* IX

37. *Tuhfat-ul-Majalis*

him to stay there neglected him against all expectations. Pained at his condition, a poor old lady, Bibi Bhuri, approached him, consoled him and offered milk pudding to him. Bibi Bhuri's consoling words and her affectionate concern for him always remained green in Shaikh Ahmad's mind and, years later, when he was at the height of his fame at Sarkhej, a man came to see him and told him that he was a grandson of Bibi Bhuri and had come from Khattu, a world of visions and memories glowed in Shaikh Ahmad's mind; he enquired about each and every member of Bibi Bhuri's family and entertained him with profound affection.³⁸ A few days after Baba Ishaq's death, Shaikh Ahmad decided to perform a *Chillah* and shut himself up in a *hujrah* with a pot of water and a few dates. On the Eid day when he was taken out by the governor of Khattu, he was a mere skeleton. He was taken to Eidgah in a *palki* padded with wool.³⁹

His Wanderjahre

His penitences at Khattu being over, Shaikh Ahmad set out on pilgrimage to holy places in Arabia, Iraq and Iran. He travelled to Arabia by way of Patan and the port of Cambay. At Patan, Fateh Khan, father of Farhat ul-Mulk Rasti Khan, received and entertained him. While performing ablution (*wazu*) in the ship, he accidentally slipped into the ocean. The sailors threw boats into the ocean and it was with great difficulty⁴⁰ that he could be rescued. His stay at Medina was full of thrilling spiritual experiences which he used to narrate to his audience in his later years with great feeling.⁴¹ As soon as the dome of the Prophet's tomb came in sight, he jumped down from the camel's back and started walking on foot. He stayed in a mosque near the tomb of the Prophet. One of his companions was the Imam of the Khan-i-Jahan Mosque in Delhi. Here he saw a woman in a dream and interpreted her as a symbolic representation for material prosperity and affluence.⁴² During his journeys in Muslim lands Shaikh Ahmad came into contact with many mystics, divines and scholars. He came to know also the general condition of Muslims in those areas. This considerably extended his intellectual horizon, though his travels in Muslim lands were undertaken under extremely painful conditions. For more than a decade, he wandered there, barefooted,

38. *Tuhfat-ul-Majalis*, ff 16a, b. Bibi Bhuri probably belonged to some کوسی
family as she used to bring milk to Baba Ishaq.

39. *Majlis* XI

40. *Tuhfat-ul-Majalis*, *Majlis* VI.

41. *Tuhfat-ul-Majalis*.

42. *Tuhfat-ul-Majalis*, f 11 b. In *Siyar-ul-Auliya* also material wealth is represented in the form of woman.

without a companion and without even a water pot (ابریق). At night he sojourned in some mosque and continued his journey at dawn the next day.⁴³ Recounting his *wanderjahre* in his old age, he once remarked:

اگرچه در سفر مشقت و تعب بسیار است
 44 فاما فرحت حضور باطن و طرب دل بے شمار است

(Though there is considerable (physical) hardship and strain in travels, it, nevertheless, provides immense pleasure of inner concentration and cheerfulness of heart.)

Shaikh Ahmad returned to India during the later years of Firuz Shah Tughluq's reign and disembarked at Thatta. Abul Fazl seems to think that he went on his travels after he had settled in Gujarat during the reign of Ahmad Shah⁴⁵ (813-846/1411-1442.) This, however, is not correct. While in Sind, Shaikh Ahmad went to Uchch to meet Sayyid Sadruddin Raju,⁴⁶ brother of Sayyid Jalaluddin Bukhari Makhdum-i- Jahanian. In the forenoon he reached the *khanqah* of Raju Qattal. The saint was on the upper storey of his house and visitors were assembling down-stairs for hours. Suddenly a servant came down and all people assembled there showed such respect to him as if the saint himself had come. The servant conducted the visitors one by one into the presence of Saiyyid Raju Qattal. Shaikh Ahmad was the last to be taken to the saint, but was received with extra-ordinary affection and respect.

It appears that later on cordial relations were established between the two saints. Shaikh Ahmad once showed the compiler of *Tuhfat-ul-Majalis* the following letter which he had received from Raju Qattal :

برادرم شیخ المشایخ والاولیاء شیخ احمد کہتو دام تقویٰ، دعا و
 تحیت از صدرالدین راجو مطالعہ نمایند، و آن برادر یک ساعت از سینہ
 این ضعیف فراموش نمی شود، باید کہ در اوقات نیک این ضعیف را
 بدعا یاد دارند۔ و یک طاقتہ، کمبل، و یک عدد تسبیح بدست فلان
 سوداگر فرستادہ شد، معمول کنند، یاد می آورده باشند⁴⁷

43. *Tuhfat-ul-Majalis*, f. 17a, b.

44. *Akhbar-ul-Akhyar*, p. 155.

45. *Tuhfat ul-Majalis*, ff. 18b-19a.

46. For brief biographical notices see, *Siyar-ul-Arifin* p. 158 et seq., *Akhbar-ul-Akhyar* p. 151.

47. *Tuhfat-ul Majalis*, Majlis, XIII.

(Brother Shaikhul Mashaikh wai-Auliya Shaikh Ahmad Khattu, may his piety endure for ever ! Good wishes and greetings from Sadruddin Raju. You, my brother, are never away for a moment from the heart of this humble one. You should remember this humble self in auspicious moments in your prayers. I have sent a garment, a blanket and a rosary through a merchant. You may accept them. May you remember me).

Visit to Delhi

From Sind, Shaikh Ahmad reached Delhi and stayed as usual at Masjid-i- Khan-i-Jahan. Here he was visited by eminent nobles like Zafar Khan and Tatar Khan. One day Firuz Shah also came to see him accompanied by some 'ulama. Shaikh Ahmad did not show any particular respect to him :

ابن درویش همچنانے کہ نشسته بود نشسته ماند ، قیام بلک
نیم قیام ہم نکرد

(This dervish remained sitting as he was, he did not rise, even he did not half rise to show respect to him).

The previous day a merchant-disciple of Sayyid Nur Qutb-i-'Alam of Pandua had presented a pod of musk to him. Shaikh Ahmad presented this to the Sultan. The 'ulama later tried to prejudice the Sultan against the saint for his nonchalant attitude but Firuz Shah silenced them by his remark:

شما کجا استحقاق این دارید که بامشایخ بدین حیثیت سخن بکنید ،
کرامت و عظمت ایشان را من بسیار دیده ام ، سالها است که بایشان
اعتقاد تمام دارم - در آنوقت که بیرون دهلی بودم کس فرستاده عرضداشت
می کردم که حضرت مخدوم از صلحا و اتقیا اند ، بوقت نیک خود این
مسکین را بدعا یاد می فرموده باشند ، ایشان همه وقت می فرمودند که
شما بادشاه دهلی خواهید شد ، بکرم الله تعالی و ببرکت انفاس خوشبوی
ایشان بادشاه دهلی شدم و تا غایت هم در پناه ایشانم⁴⁸ -

(How do you have the right to talk to such saints in such strain ?
I have seen many miracles from him and have (been convinced of)

48. *Tuhfat-ul-Majalis*, Majlis 1, f 3b. Incidentally this remark contradicts Afif's view (*Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi* p. 44.) that Firuz Shah was not interested in ascending the throne and wanted to proceed on Hajj pilgrimage.

his greatness. For years now I have faith in him. When I was away from Delhi, I sent a man to him submitting : your Exalted self is one of the pious and saintly persons. At some auspicious hour you may kindly remember this humble person while praying to God. He used to say all the time : You will be the King of Delhi. By the Grace of God and the fragrance of his pious prayers I have become the King of Delhi and till now I am in his protection).

Later on Firuz Shah sent a bouquet of flowers to him through his Hajib-i-Khas.

Timur's Invasion and Shaikh Ahmad

Shaikh Ahmad was in Delhi when Timur invaded India in 1398. A fortnight before Timur's forces marched into Delhi, he heard the rumblings of a distant storm and advised one of his disciples, Shaikh Sadruddin of Meerut—about whom incidentally we are told that he was a son-in-law of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughluq—to migrate to Jaunpur.

”شما اهل و عیال خود گرفته به طرف جونپور بروید که قهری
نامزد دهلی است ، شما در امن باشید بهتر است“⁴⁹

(You should go towards Jaunpur with your family as divine wrath has been directed towards Delhi. It will be better if you are in peace.)

When Shaikh Sadruddin insisted that he should also accompany him to Jaunpur, Shaikh Ahmad replied that he wanted to be by the side of the people of Delhi in the hour of their trial and misfortune:

(رفاقت خلق دهلی نموده خواهد شد)

After the occupation of Delhi, Timur granted quarter to the inhabitants of the capital and deputed his men to collect the ransom. Harsh treatment by the Mughal soldiers made the people of Delhi desperate and they not only refused payment but slew some of the Mughal soldiers. Timur's blood began to boil with rage and he ordered general massacre of the people of Delhi.

Along with other inhabitants of Delhi, Shaikh Ahmad was also taken into custody by the soldiers of Timur. The account of his captivity, as narrated by the Shaikh to his audience, is perhaps the only available

49. *Tuhfat-ul Majalis*, f 5 b.

eye-witness account of Timur's camp of prisoners.⁵⁰ After mass arrest of the people of Delhi, the prisoners were divided into groups of 40 and each group was tied with a rope 'like beads in a rosary.' The prisoners were not given any thing to eat. Starvation deaths were inevitable. Many prisoners died helplessly. Shaikh Ahmad somehow managed to have a supply of 40 loaves of bread at mid-night. This he distributed to the prisoners of his group and saved their lives. One day a Turkbachcha who was related to Timur, came to inspect the camp. He found that in every *silk* 10 to 15 prisoners had died but the *silk* to which Shaikh Ahmad belonged had not lost a single soul. He enquired about the reasons and the people told him pointing towards Shaikh Ahmad that it was he who gave them bread from some mysterious source. The Shaikh and others of his group would have lost their heads then and there had the source been detected but its mysterious nature excited the superstitious curiosity of the Turkbachcha who rushed to Timur to report the matter. The Shaikh

50. *Tuhfat-ul-Majalis*, f 7a.

”بعد از پانزده روز مغولان امیر تیمور کورکان در رسیدند و مردم دهلی اسیر شدند۔ این درویش نیز اسیر شد۔ چهل چهل نفر را سلک علیحده کرده، نگه می داشتند۔ این درویش نیز داخل بود۔ دران ایام قحط واقع شد و مردم بسیار می مردند۔ روزی یک ترک بچه که اقارب امیر تیمور بود، بدیدن اسیران آمد و درین سلک نظر کرد۔ دید که هم سلامت اند و تازه و تندرست۔ ترک بچه گفت که در هر سلک ده پانزده نفر مرده اند، و درین سلک همه سلامت اند و آسوده۔ پرسید که شما از کجا طعام می خورید۔ مردم این سلک اشارت بطرف این دریش نمود۔ گفتند که این درویش پاک صورت وقت نیم شب یکان کاک گرم بزرگ بما میدهد۔ چون آن ترک بچه این سخن بشنید باعتقاد تمام درپائی این درویش افتاد و فی الحال در ملازمت امیر تیمور رفت و احوال را باز گفت۔ امیر تیمور یک اسپ فرستادند و فرمودند که آن درویش را سوار کرده بحضور بیازند۔ این درویش بر اسپ سوار شده نزدیک دربار بادشاه فرود آمد و در پیش بادشاه رفت۔ بادشاه به تعظیم تمام دریافتند و گفتند، چهل نفر را شما هر شب نان می دادید۔ این درویش گفت که من چه خواهم داد، الله تعالی رازق است، رزق ایشان

was immediately summoned and Timur put several questions to him. The Shaikh replied that it was God who fed the people and kept them alive. "How can I feed anybody?" he submitted to Timur, "It is God the Sustainer who supplies sustenance to people?" Timur got the impression that the Shaikh was thus tacitly suggesting that it was from some miraculous source that he had supplied the bread. "If you have such power", Timur turned to Shaikh Ahmad, "why didn't you come to know about my invasion and manage to escape from Delhi before my forces reached here?" The general bearing of the Shaikh and his saintly ways however attracted Timur's attention. His mood changed and the fury which had taken the toll of several thousand innocent people of Delhi cooled down. Not only the *silk* of Shaikh Ahmad but the entire arrested population was set free. This brought Shaikh Ahmad suddenly into prominence and the people of Delhi, generation after generation, remembered with profound feelings of gratitude his contribution in rescuing them from the clutches of a tyrant like Timur.⁵¹

را می رسانید - باز فرمودید که شما این چنین کرامت داشتید، چون معلوم خود نگردید که این چنین حالت پیش خواهد رسید؟ این درویش گفت که پانزده روز پیشتر بفقیر معلوم نموده بودند، چنانچه شیخ صدر الدین مرید و معتقد خود را باهل و عیال به طرف جونپور فرستادم و خود به جهت موافقت خلق دهلی ماندم که چون اکثر اینها معتقد و مرید اند، مروت ندیدم که رفاقت نکنم - امیر تیمور بغایت خوشحال شدند و تواضع بسیار کردند و یک اسپ و چند پرکاله پیش این درویش آوردند که آن چهل نفر را که حضرت شیخ نان میدادند آنها را خلاص کنند و سوای آنها هر کدام را که حضرت شیخ بفرمانید خلاص نمایند - در لشکر در هر جا که بند بود این درویش خلاص کرد -"

There is no reference to the Shaikh's intercession in the *Malfuzat-i-Timuri*. Timur however makes the following observation which is somewhat significant. "When I was tired of examining the city I went into the *Masjid-i-Jami*", where a congregation was assembled of *saiyids*, lawyers, *shaikhs*, and other of the principal Musulmans, with the inhabitants of their parts of the city, to whom they had been a protection and defence. I called them to my presence, consoled them, treated them with every respect, and bestowed upon them many presents and honours." *Elliot and Dowson* Vol. III, p. 448.

51. *Tuhfat-ul Majalis*, f 7 a

Mulla Abdul Qadir Badauni (*Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. I, p. 270) refers to the role of the Shaikh in securing the pardon of Timur. He writes :

"روز چهارم حکم بند عام فرمودند و همه را بجانب ماورالنهر

When the Mughal nobles and soldiers saw Timur kindly disposed towards Shaikh Ahmad, they also began to show respect to him. Malik Saif-ul-Mulk became a disciple of the saint and presented a horse to him. When Timur started on his journey back home, Shaikh Ahmad also accompanied him. It is not known if it was the saint's own decision or Timur had ordered him to that effect. However it was an unique experience of Shaikh Ahmad's life: one who had wandered all through his life without a friend and without any resources was now moving with the army of one of the greatest and most ferocious conquerors of the age. At a narrow pass where the Mughal soldiers had to cross one by one, Shaikh Ahmad happened to see some of the ladies of Timur's *haram*. These ladies were all surrounded by a contingent of eunuchs. Some of them expressed faith in the saint and communicated through the eunuchs, a number of whom had become attached to Shaikh Ahmad. Prince Shah Rukh and his contingent of women, soldiers and servants displayed great respect for the Shaikh and thus he came to be surrounded by hundreds of admirers. One day the Shaikh thought of an interview with Timur. He proceeded towards his tent without first obtaining his permission. Five hundred fully armed Turkbachchas stood there guarding the entrance; another contingent of 500 stood on Timur's left. On a rostrum as high as a man's height sat Timur talking to Shaikh Abdul Awwal, a descendant of the author of *Hidayah*, the famous law book. The Turkbachchas at first hesitant, permitted Shaikh Ahmad to enter the *darbar* and he got close to the rostrum. Timur received him with consideration

برد تا عاقبت شیخ احمد که تو که روضه او در سر خیز گجرات قریب
 با احمد آباد مشهور است همراه آن لشکر رفته ، صاحب قرانی را دیده ،
 حالت درویشی و فضیلت علم خورا ظاهر ساخت و با علماء و فضلائ
 عسکر ماورالنهر بحث ها کرده الزام داد ، و شفاعت اسیران نمود و
 صاحب قرانی را نسبت باو اعتقاد پیدا شد و ملتزم او را قبول کرده
 همه بیدیان را خلاص داد و این حق شیخ بر ذمه اهل هند ماند “

“On the fourth day he ordered all the inhabitants to be made prisoners and took all of them towards Transoxiana; eventually Shaikh Ahmad Khattu whose tomb is well known at Sarkhej in Gujarat, near Ahmadabad, went along with the army and had an interview with Sahib Qir'an (Timur) and made apparent to him his condition as a *darvesh*, and his surpassing erudition, moreover he argued with and confuted over and over again the learned doctors who were with the Transoxiana force and begged for the prisoner's lives. The Sahib Qir'an (Timur) conceived such a strong liking for him that he acceded to his request and liberated all the prisoners. This signal service of the Shaikh remained ever as a debt upon the people of Hindustan.”

and asked him to take a seat near him. Turning to Shaikh Abdul Awwal Timur said : "You place some academic problems before Shaikh Ahmad for elucidation." Shaikh Abdul Awwal and Shaikh Ahmad Maghribi were denizens of two different worlds: one an externalist scholar with a traditional and legalistic approach towards all problems of religion and society ; the other, a mystic with a spiritual and otherworldly outlook, interested more in the spirit than the letter of the law. It was obvious that the two could never agree, but Timur enjoyed the discussion and when it was on the verge of taking an unpleasant turn, he ordered food to be served.

Another interesting sketch of Timur at the table is provided in the *Tuhfat-ul-Majalis*. Conscious of the presence of Timur, the two guests took little from the dishes. Timur noticed this and insisted :

بقراغت طعام بخوريد

Timur recommended one dish after another to them. He put a dish of meat soup before Shaikh Ahmad. Timur enjoyed all this and smilingly overlooked every breach of his table manners. This provides an interesting side light on the character of Timur. During his stay in Samarqand, Shaikh Ahmad was once invited to a feast by Malik Saif in which many *ulama* and *mashaikh* were also present, and was seated at a central place.⁵²

It appears that some of the Mughals maintained relations with Shaikh Ahmad even when he had settled at Sarkhej. A Mughal once sent a horse to him⁵³.

Settles at Sarkhej

The most important phase of Shaikh Ahmad's long life began when he settled at Sarkhej,⁵⁴ six miles south-west of the later city of Ahmadabad, at the request of Zafar Khan⁵⁵ and his son Tatar Khan, both of whom used to visit him in Delhi at the Masjid-i-Khan-i-Jahan.

It appears that some local saints of Sarkhej did not like his stay there. When the Shaikh started building a mosque, Shaikh Mathai objected to it and insisted on his leaving the place. Once even the people of Sarkhej came to request him to leave Sarkhej. The Shaikh however succeeded in winning their love and affection. But there were people who

52. *Tuhfat-ul-Majalis* ff 26b-27a.

53. *Tuhfat-ul-Majalis*, ff 24a-25b.

54. Sarkhej became famous for indigo which, according to Abul Fazl, was exported to Turkey and other countries. *A'in-i-Akbari*, Eng. Tr. Vol. II, pp. 248,

55. *Tuhfat-ul-Majalls*, XIV. *Akhbar-ul Akhyar*, p. 153,

were jealous of his influence and sometimes engaged assassins to put an end to his life. Many of the incidents of the Shaikh's life at Sarkhej are presented in such a way by Mahmud that a superstitious and credulous atmosphere seems to hang over them. But, if the crust of superstition is removed, one can very neatly place all the events in their proper perspective. Shaikh Ahmad Maghribi identified himself with the problems of the people of Gujarat and won their love and affection. He was by the side of the people and boosted up their morale when a village was submerged by flood waters.

Foundation of the City of Ahmadabad

The city of Ahmadabad was founded⁵⁶ by Sultan Ahmad Shah (1411-1442) on the left bank of the Sabarmati river, in the vicinity of the old town of Asawal, at the instance of Shaikh Ahmad Maghribi.⁵⁷

The circumstances in which the site was selected and the city was founded have been recorded in *Tuhfat-ul-Majilis* with a supernatural touch. This account seems to have been borrowed by many chroniclers, including Mahmud Bukhari, the author of *Tartikh-i-Salatin-i Gujarat*, though with certain modifications. According to Mahmud Irijī, Sultan Ahmad once expressed a keen desire before the saint to see Khizr, who according to Muslim belief, is the guide even of Prophets. The Shaikh recommended certain penances to the Sultan, performing some *chillahs* in complete seclusion and abstaining from meat-eating. The Sultan consequently succeeded in having an interview with Khizr and asked him about the propriety or otherwise of founding a city where the interview had taken place. Khizr hailed the idea and suggested the name Ahmadabad for it. He further suggested that four *Ahmads* who had never missed the *Sunnat* prayers of *Asr* should found the city by holding four corners of ropes. So saying Khizr left. The Sultan went to the bank of the River Sabarmati with four Ahmads (himself, the saint, Malik Ahmad and Qazi Ahmad)⁵⁸ and laid the foundation of the city. The walls however did not go up as what was built in the day was dismantled in the night

56. About controversies regarding the date of foundation, see Indian History Congress—*Proceedings*, Ranchi Session, 1964, H.G. Shastri's article "The Date of the Foundation of Ahmadabad" p. 119-123, also, Commissariat, *History of Gujarat* Vol. I, p. 91f n. 1.

57. *Tabaqat-i Akabari*, Vol II p. 97. *Mir'at-i Ahmadi*, Supplement 78-79.

58. *Mir'at-i Ahmadi*, Supp. p. 2.

Malik Ahmad lies buried at Pathanwada, near the Kalupur gate of the city. Qazi Ahmad, a *khalifa* of Shaikh Ahmad, lies buried at Patan.

According to the author of *Mir'at-i Ahmadi* (Supp. pp. 92-93) twelve other saints who were directly or indirectly connected with Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya had also participated in the foundation ceremony of the city.

by some one. It was found that Manak Jogi⁵⁹ was responsible for it. He was summoned. He insisted upon his name being associated with the new complex as he also lived somewhere there. The quarter where he resided was named after him and the construction of buildings was then taken up without any hindrance.⁶⁰ It appears that the Sultan wanted to deal harshly with him, but the saint got the matter settled amicably.

Mahmud Bukhari gives substantially the same but slightly different version. According to him when the saint was going to the Sultan, who had invited him to help him in the foundation of the city, the saint met Khizr who blessed the construction of the new city with the words:

در معموری و آبادانی آن چنان بود که تمام ترازوهای بقالان و
کفیتن از زر بود⁶¹

(Its prosperity and population will be such that all the balances and scales of the *baqqals* will be of gold).

About the beauty and grandeur of the city Amin Razi writes :

”اگر گفته شود که در کل بلاد عالم باین عظمت و آراستگی شهرے
موجود نشده اغراق و مبالغه نبوده باشد و بازارش بر خلاف دیگر شهرهائے
هند نهایت وسعت و پاکیزگی را دارد و دکاکینش دو مرتبه و سه مرتبه
در کمال تکلف و زینت ساخته شده“⁶²

(It will be no exaggeration to say that in the entire world there exists no town so grand and beautiful. Its streets are spacious and

59. The author of the *Malfuz* intensifies the mysterious and supernatural atmosphere when he calls him a *dev*. (f. 52 a).

60. *Tuhfat-ul-Majalis*, f 52 a.

61. *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i- Gujarat* edited by S.A.I. Tirmizi, p. 22.

62. *Haft Iqlim* I, p. 86.

Abul Fazl remarks about Ahmadabad : “For the pleasantness of its climate and its display of the choicest productions of the whole globe, it is almost unrivalled.” *A'im-i Akbari*, Eng. Tr. Bib. Indica, 1949, Vol. II, p. 247.

Contemporary and later writers have spoken in eloquent terms about the beauty and prosperity of Ahmadabad. Halwa'i Shirazi presented a *masnavi* to Sultan Ahmad in which wrote about the city:

غباری که خیزد براهش عیان کشد سرمه در دیده اصفهان
نشاپور را از حسد جان کند که گجرات رشک خراسان کند

Mir'at-i Ahmadi (Suppl. pp. 3-4)

neat unlike those in other towns; its shops, with two or three storeys each, are finely built.)

Personality and Impact

Referring to Shaikh Ahmad's influence and prestige in Gujarat, Abul Fazl remarks:

خورد و بزرگ اورا پذیرفتند و نیایش گری برخاستند⁶³

Thousand of visitors—Hindus and Muslims, rich and poor, government officers and merchants—thronged in his hospice. He maintained a large open kitchen and fed hundreds of people every day. Initially Maulana Mansur, an inmate of the *khanqah*, kept the account of the *futuh* (unasked for charity) that came to him. Later on a *baqqal* was entrusted with the maintenance of the account of receipt and expenditure. It appears from a conversation recorded in *Tuhfat-ul-Majalis* that the annual expenditure of the kitchen was 1,25,000 *tankas*.

One day the Shaikh had to attend to a huge crowd of visitors in his *khanqah*. He was depressed at the distraction thus caused in his contemplation and he wept bitterly.⁶⁴ Mahmud, the compiler of the *malfuz*, consoled him by referring to letters exchanged between Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya of Delhi and Syed Mu'inuddin of Iraj on the topic of seclusion and company. Syed Mu'inuddin had written to Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya expressing his envy at the Shaikh's whole-time occupation with God while he was all the time busy with the people. The Shaikh wrote back in reply:

معلوم باد کہ حق سبحانہ تعالیٰ شمارا دو قوت دادہ ، عبادت حق و بارکشی خلق ، و مارا یک قوت بخشیدہ کہ اوقات خود را معمور داریم بتوفیق اللہ تعالیٰ⁶⁵

(May you know that God has given two faculties to you—Devotion to Him and bearing the burden of people. To me He has bestowed one faculty—that to keep myself busy in His contemplation through His Mercy.)

One day Mahmud interceded on behalf of a poet who was trying for an interview with the Shaikh for several days. The Shaikh was in a

63. *A'in-i-Akbari*, Vol II, p 212

64. *Tuhfat-ul-Majalis* f 24 a.

65. *Tuhfat-ul-Majalis*, ff 24 a, b.

relaxed mood and was sitting on a cot leaning on a pillow. He called in the poet who started reciting a *qasidah* in his praise. The saint did not approve of the panegyric and said:

بابا دعا ایمان بکنید⁶⁶

(Baba! (why indulge in such panegyrics.) Pray for the (safety of faith.)

Shaikh Ahmad enjoyed tremendous prestige with the contemporary saints and scholars. A *majzub* of Sarkhej, Baba Ali Sher, who lived and moved stark naked, no matter what the status of a visitor was, would instantly ask for clothes when he saw Shaikh Ahmad and would remark:

لو گرون لاؤ شرع نا کوٹ آوے

(Bring the clothes the citadel of *Shariat* comes)''⁶⁷

Shaikh Ahmad Maghribi had an extremely affable personality, full of the milk of human kindness, responsive to the problems of the poor and sympathetic towards the down-trodden in society. Enormous *futuh* (unasked for charity) flowed into his *khanqah* and he generously bestowed these gifts on the people who came to him and sought his help. His generosity earned for him the appellation of *Ganj Bakhsh* (Treasure-giver.) He rarely turned down any body's request for help but his intuitive intelligence never failed in assessing the genuine needs of a supplicant. (i) One day a *durwesh* came to him and, after accosting him, kept standing, expecting something in charity from him. The Shaikh gave him 25 copper coins. The visitor was displeased at this and said that while to others who were rich he gave plenty of money, to him he gave a paltry sum. Later on it was found that the *durwesh* had with him a purse full of gold *tankas* tied to his waist. (ii) A man came all the way from Mandu and submitted that he was worried about the marriage of his daughters as he was extremely poor and had no financial resources to arrange their marriages. The Shaikh gave him considerable money and when the audience looked at his generosity with surprise, he remarked :

این درویش به کسے چه خواهد داد، المعطی هو الله⁶⁸

(How can this *durwesh* give anything to anybody. The real Giver is Allah).

66. *Tuhfat-ul-Majalis*, f 32 a.

67. *Mir'at-i Ahmadi*, Supp. pp. 92-93.

68. *Tuhfat-ul-Majalis*, ff 25b-26a.

It was his spiritual master Baba Ishaq who had inculcated feelings of generosity in him. He was only twelve years of age when a *faqir* who was an addict to *bhang* daily came to Baba Ishaq and took four *jitals* from him. Shaikh Ahmad told him that it was no use giving anything to him as he purchased *bhang* with this money. "We will be questioned about our conduct (on the Day of Judgement) and he about his", replied Baba Ishaq. The Shaikh's words went deep into his heart and never again in his life did he hesitate to give anything to anybody who asked for it. Baba Ishaq had prayed for him:

همیشه دست بابا احمد بالا باشد و خلائق پیش او دست فراز کنند⁶⁹

Shaikh Ahmad had a very catholic and humanitarian approach towards religion. His *khanqah* provided an opportunity to men of different religious affiliations to come closer in an atmosphere free from tensions and conflicts. There are references in his *mal'uzat* to discussions with Hindus about the significance of the concept of *avatar* in Hinduisim. What helped the Shaikh in his communication with non-Muslim religious groups was his knowledge of several languages. Besides Persian, he knew and spoke Hindi⁷⁰ and the Gujarati languages and could recite apt verses from these languages.

Though his early life had mostly been spent in an ascetic atmosphere, he was fond of poetry and had learnt music also. One day he told his audience :

در علم موسیقی این درویش نهایت رسانیت دارد و در جوانی هر کس که الحان من می شنید مبتلائی این درویش می شد⁷⁰

(This derwish has great aptitude for music and during my youth whoever heard my musical tones fell in love with me.)

He could compose and recite verses appropriate to the occasion, though out of modesty he used to say :

بابا من شاعر نیستم⁷¹

(Baba I am not a poet)

69. *Akhbar-ul Akhyar*, p. 156.

70. Referring to a discussion with the Hindus, the Shaikh said :

این درویش بزبان هندی بایشان گفت

Tuhfat-ul Majalis, ff 66a.

71. *Tuhfat-ul-Majalis*, f. 30a.

The *Tuhfat-ul-Majalis* has given his following verses :

شوریدگان خسته و زاریم آه آه و اماندگان صحبت یاریم آه آه
 سرگشتگان سوخته بابخت گان خام دلدادگان سینه فگاریم آه آه
 مستان زشب چومی بودند آن کو بکو گه در شراب و گه به خماریم آه آه
 زندان مفلسیم ، حریفان ناقصیم جز نیستی و جرم نداریم آه آه
 نه در شمار مرد ، نه اندر قطار زن معلوم نیست در چه شماریم آه آه
 خواند اگر بلطف بیائیم شاد شاد راند اگر به قهر بر آریم آه آه

Melodious voice with extremely attractive physical features considerably enhanced the impact of his personality and even in his old age people admired his attractive looks. Shaikh Ahmad always exhorted his disciples to fight baser appetites and urges (*nafs*). It was in an struggle against *nafs* that a man's real greatness lay. He advised his disciples to shake off pride as nothing degraded a man's spiritual personality more than pride.

The ruling house of Gujarat had deep respect for the Shaikh. Sultan Ahmad Shah, who was an *alim*,⁷² and was deeply involved in the culture of his soul, was formally a disciple of Shaikh Ruknuddin *Kan-i-Shakar*, but had developed great faith in Shaikh Ahmad. It was Nizam-ul-Mulk Jalal Khan, one of his distinguished courtiers, who had brought the Sultan close to the Shaikh. One night both of them came to see him *in cognito*. The Sultan wanted to test his spiritual powers. The Shaikh who had a powerful intuitive intelligence (*nafa-i gira*) read his mind and satisfied him. The Shaikh entertained him with *khichri* (rice boiled with lentil) and *ghee* which the Sultan relished.⁷³ One day the Sultan told Nizam ul-Mulk that Shaikh Ahmad was wisdom personified. According to the I.O. text of *Mir'at-i Sikandari*, the Sultan developed such faith in him that he even performed personal service to the Shaikh and attended on him at night.⁷⁴ He got his son Muhammad enrolled as a disciple of the

72. f. n. p. 17

Mir'at-i Sikandari, p. 34.

73. *Tuhfat-ul-Majalis* ff 12 b -14a.

74. The passage is :

اما بحضرت شیخ احمد نسبت اعتقاد بیشتر است ، چنانچه کلوخ
 استنجا ئے شبی بدست حضرت شیخ داد - چون تاریکی شب بود ، فرمودند :
 صلاح الدین است ، کہ خادم قدیم حضرت شیخ بود - گفت نے -
 احمد - حضرت فرمود : شاه نیک بخت -

See also *Mir'at-i Sikandari*, p. 60, f.m.

saint.⁷⁵ The saint extended his moral support to him and at the time of the Battle of Sarangpur predicted his victory.⁷⁶

Once Malik Qiwan-ul Mulk invited some *ulama* of Khurasan, Shiraz and Multan to a feast. When the feast was over, he brought all the *alims* to Shaikh Ahmad who received them very cordially.

Shaikh Ahmad was on his death-bed when Sultan Muhammad Shah came to see him and realizing that his end was near asked:

برائے چراغ روشن کردن کرا حکم می شود

(Whom do you order for lighting up the lamp ?)

a polite way of asking as to whom the saint wished to nominate as his successor. The Shaikh pointed towards Shaikh Salahuddin who was consequently placed on the *Sajjadah* after the death of Shaikh Ahmad, on Thursday, 14th Shawwal, 849 (1446-7).⁷⁷

Shaikh Ahmad's mausoleum⁷⁸ and the complex of buildings around it, was begun by Muhammad Shah II (846-855/1442-141) and completed by his son Qutbuddin Shah (855-863/1451-1458). Due to deep attachment with him, Sultan Mahmud Bigara and Sultan Muhammad II were buried in the shadow of his tomb.

Jahangir visited Sarkhej in 1618. His account of the Shaikh and the attachment of the rulers of Gujarat to him deserves to be quoted in full:

شیخ در عہد سلطان احمد کہ بانی شہر احمد آباد بودہ اند و سلطان احمد بایشان ارادت و اخلاص تمام داشت و مردم این ملک را باو غریب اعتقاد است بایشان و از اولیائے کبار می دانند، و در ہر شب جمعہ انبوه از وضع و شریف بزیارت ایشان حاضر می شوند۔ سلطان محمد پسر سلطان احمد مذکور عمارات عالی از مقبرہ و مسجد و

75. *Mir'at-i- Sikandari* p. 60, f. n.

76. *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*. p. 56.

77. *Zafar-ul-Walih*, Eng. tr. Vol. I, p. 1.

78. Attached with the mausoleum was a big *madrasah* and a big mosque. The *madrasah* had big boarding house also for scholars. (*Gujarat Ki Tammadduni Tarikh*, Syed Abu Zafar Nadavi, Azamgarh 1962, p. 195.). Regarding the mosque adjoining the tomb, Burgess says that except the Moti Masjid at Agra, there is probably no mosque in India that surpasses it in simple elegance. "Its beauty", remarks Sir John Marshall, "is due to its chaste simplicity and classic restraint; and indeed, considered on its merits as a pillared hall, it is difficult to imagine how it could have improved upon." *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 611.

خانقاه بر سر مزار ایشان بنا نهاده و متصل به مقبره در ضلع جنوب تالے کلان ساخته و دور آنرا بسنگ و اھک رېخته برآورده و اتمام این عمارات در زمان قطب الدین ولد محمود مذکور شده ، مقبرے چند از سلاطین گجرات برکنار تال در طرف پائے شیخ واقع است و دران گنبد سلطان محمود بیگره و سلطان مظفر پسر او و محمود شهید نبیره سلطان مظفر که آخرین سلاطین گجرات است آسوده اند و متصل بمقبره ایشان گنبد خواتین انھا است و بے تکلف مقبره شیخ بغایت عمارت عالی و جائے نفیس است و از روئے قیاس تخمیناً پنج لک روپیه صرف این عمارت شده باشد. واللہ اعلم بالصواب⁷⁹

(The Shaikh lived in the time of Sultan Ahmad, who founded the city of Ahmadabad, and the latter had a great respect for him. The people of this country have a strange belief in him and consider him one of the great saints. Every Friday night a great crowd of people, high and low, go to visit his shrine. Sultan Muhammad, son of the aforesaid Sultan Ahmad, built lofty buildings in the shape of mausoleums, mosques, and monasteries at the head of his tomb, and near his mausoleum on the south side made a large tank, and surrounded it with stone and lime (masonry). This building was completed in the time of Qutbuddin, son of the aforesaid Muhammad. The shrines of several of the Sultans of Gujarat are on the bank of the tank by the feet of the Shaikh. In that dome there have been laid at rest Sultan Muhammad Bigara, Sultan Muzaffar, his son, and Mahmud the martyr, grandson of Sultan Muzaffar, and who was the last of the Sultans, of Gujarat. Near his (Shaikh Khattu's) tomb is the dome of his ladies.⁸⁰ Without doubts the mausoleum of the Shaikh is a very grand building and a beautiful place. It is estimated that 500,000 rupees were spent on it. God only know what is true").⁸¹

Shaikh Ahmad's tomb, which was one of the most imposing buildings of the period,⁸² attracted people from far and near. The *langar* (open

79. *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, ed. Sir Syed, Aligarh, 1864, p. 212.

80. Text *Khawanin*, Khans; but evidently this is a mistake for *Khawtin*, the plural of *khatun*, 'a lady.'

81. Rogers I pp. 428-429.

82. Commissariat calls it "the largest of its kind in Gujarat," *History of Gujarat* Vol. I. p. 132.

kitchen) which had been a feature of his *khanqah* was continued after his death. Shaikh Abdul Haqq writes:

بعد از وفات در روضه وے آن چنان لنگر می شد کہ امرا و
بادشاہان سیر شوند چہ جائے فقرا و مساکین

(After his death the free kitchen was continued in the same way at his mausoleum and what to say of *faqirs* and destitutes, even nobles and kings ate there to their satisfaction).

K. A. Nizami

REVIEWS

The Mughal and Sikh Rulers and Vaishnavas of Pindori : A Historical Interpretation of 52 Persian Documents, edited by B. N. Goswamy and J. S. Grewal. Indian Institute of Advance Study, Simla, 1969. pp—371. Price Rs, 50/-.

In recent years more and more attention is being paid to the publication and study of documentary literature as a source of information for contemporary history. The importance of this source cannot be overemphasized. The present editors have earlier published a very valuable collection of documents : *The Mughals and Jogis of Jakhbar*. The recent publication, "*The Mughal and Sikh Rulers and the Vaishnavas of Pindori*", is divided into three parts. A detailed introduction constitutes the first part. The second part gives text and translation of the documents with explanatory notes. The third part contains appendices dealing with a selected biography, facsimiles of documents, and of seals. In the end a map gives the geographical location of the places mentioned in the documents.

The introduction is divided into three sections. The first gives the history of the Vaishnava establishment of Pindori—with which the documents are concerned—the life of its founder and the succession of Mahants, based mostly on traditions, supported and confirmed in some cases by the documents and chronicles. In the second portion of the introduction, some points relating to the contents of the documents have been discussed. The documents have been divided into two groups : the Mughal and the Sikh. Only one document—the last—has been termed British. In connection with the Mughal group of documents, the history of the Mughal Governors of the Punjab and their interest in the Vaishnava establishment is discussed. Reference is made to the administrative history of the Upper Bari Doab as revealed in the documents and the social and economic history of the region is also described. The importance of the Sikh group of documents for providing fresh material for Sikh polity and government has been duly emphasised by the editors.

An attempt to determine the date of these documents, which bear no specific date, has been made in the third section of the introduction. A very valuable part of this portion is the abstract of the documents

given in chronological order, which can be utilized by a reader for reference purposes.

All the fifty-two documents of this beautifully presented volume are preserved in the Vaishnava settlement at Pindori, in the Gurdaspur district of the Punjab. These documents which are varying in nature cover a period of nearly a century and a half. The earliest document, dated A.D. 1695-96 is a *patta* for a $5\frac{1}{2}$ years' *ijara*. The last document dated A.D. 1859 is a sale-deed. Though many chronicles are available for the period covered by the documents, these documents provide some interesting new material for a study of the religious policy of the Mughal Governors and the autonomous Sikh rulers of the Punjab. Some information is given about the character of the Mughal Governors, particularly Zakariya Khan and Shah Nawaz Khan. The former is said to have "persecuted" the Sikhs. But we find him admonishing the *darogha* of the *Shahnahr* (Doc - III, of the present collection) for levying *Nahrana* on the Talibabad village and ordering to regard it "as free from the levy of *Nahrana* and other forbidden *abwabs*, because of its being attached to a holy establishment"—the establishment being that of the Vaishnavas of Pindori. Shah Nawaz Khan another governor, described as a "blood-thirsty character", and whose administration, according to a modern historian was marked by "excessive tyranny and oppression", appears anxious for the well being of the *bairagis* of Pindori (Doc. X), and "since the affairs of holy men and the concession given to the aforesaid holy recluse (Gosain Ramdas) find favour with us", the village Jairampur is confirmed in accordance with the former practice.

The editors have devoted much care to the decipherment of the documents, some of which are in illegible *Shikasta* script. Except for minor variations (as in the case of the seal on document, XI, where *Hizabr Jung* is deciphered as *Haziz-i-Jung* and in the seal of the document XVII اياک العبدو اياک نستعين taken for اياک نعبدو و اياک نستعين). In the second line of the document XLII, *Iradat nishan Diwani Mal* is written clearly and not *Diwan-i-Mal* as given in the decipherment. There is no doubt about the patience and labour devoted in this very time-consuming but fruitful task.

(Mrs.) Rafat Mashood

History of the Qutb Shahi Dynasty, Professor H. K. Sherwani, PP. 739 ; Munshi Ram Manohar Lal Publishers Pvt. Ltd. Delhi Price Rs. 120/-.

This is a comprehensive and critical study of the Qutb Shahi Dynasty by a distinguished authority on the Deccan History—Prof. Haroon Khan Sherwani. Based on an extensive and critical use of sources available in Persian, Telugu, Marathi, Portuguese, Russian and English, it is a contribution of abiding value to the political and cultural history of the medieval Deccan. The author has thoroughly searched the *Bakhairs* and the *Kaifyats* for constructing a picture of the Qutb Shahi administrative institutions. After Professor Abdul Majid Siddiqui's book, *History of Golconda*, this is the only work on the subject which gives a detailed account of all the aspects of the history of that Kingdom, and is a definite improvement on Professor Siddiqui's work so far as the scope, treatment and use of source material is concerned.

Prof. Sherwani's work is confined to political history of the period; it deals with all the aspects—social, cultural, economic, administrative and diplomatic—of the Qutb Shahi ruling house.

The learned author has attempted a fresh assessment of the Battle of Bannihatti, so far known as the Battle of Talikota. After a careful examination of the historical, topographical and documentary data on the subject, he has reached the conclusion that the so-called battle of Talikota or Raksagi—Tangadi was fought twelve miles south of Krishna at Bannihatti on the *sangam* of the Maski river and its southern tributary at Hukeri. The work contains a graphic description of the battle.

The work provides a valuable insight into the social and cultural history of the Qutb Shahi Kingdom, particularly the role of its rulers in the development of vernacular languages. Ibrahim Qutb Shah encouraged the growth of the Telugu language. The origin and development of Dakhni or proto-Urdu, as the author calls it, during Ibrahim's reign as a result of the influx of people from abroad, has been very lucidly described. Apart from patronage extended to Telugu, the Qutb Shahi rulers encouraged the development of the Persian language and literature.

Ibrahim Qutb Shah appears as a secular minded ruler with broad, cosmopolitan and tolerant approach in all matters of religion and administration, loved by both Hindus and Muslims of his territory.

Golconda presents a fascinating picture of cultural synthesis under the Qutb Shahis. Both Hindus and Muslims enjoyed the fruits of a just administration. Saints like Vemana resemble the leaders of the Bhakti movement in the north, and reveal the extent to which Islam had an impact on the social and cultural life of the region. The line of social reform indicated by Vemana was adopted by Veerabrahmam of Potlur in the Karnul district. He had a number of disciples both among the Hindus and the Muslims.

Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah's contribution to social life and culture has been described in great detail. Events leading to the foundation of the city of Hyderabad have been discussed and the ruler's love for architecture, his literary genius and his high aesthetic sense, has been graphically described.

The evolution of the Dakhni culture has been very well traced by the author. The diplomatic history of the Kingdom has also been reviewed and inter-state relations have been discussed with great insight. The ideal of diplomacy based on moral considerations was not always practised. There were three grades of diplomatic representatives in the Deccan.

(1) Ad-hoc envoys generally called *rasuls*, who were sent, to offer congratulations or condolences, attend a high level conference, enter into negotiations or arrange a treaty.

(2) The *hajib-i Muqim*, literally, "Resident Chamberlain" or attache; these were originally assigned to the army of friendly powers but tended to become a permanent institution.

(3) Vakils or permanent ambassadors accredited to certain foreign powers.

It appears that while there were perhaps no universal rules to control the relations of the Deccan states *inter se*, there were certain principles which were generally followed. These have been discussed in some detail by the author.

Professor Sherwani has given a good description of the administrative organisation of the Qutb Shahi kingdom. The Qutb Shahi rulers did not interfere with the personal law of the Hindus. Such cases were referred to the local Brahmasabha (which was an assembly of learned Brahmanas of locality) or the Jatisabha or caste assembly, according to the nature of the case. The old Panchayats continued to function as before. They were largely feudal in character and no traces could be found of any election of the members of the panchayat anywhere. According to the learned author, in most of the cases, the Reddis held the *mirasidar* tenure. The *watandars*

or those holding under an official tenure, and the *mirasidars*, or who were hereditary landlords, considered themselves as a kind of family group, and the deliberative body which was formed by them to look after the matters concerned with village was called the *gotsabha* (from gotre or family). The *gotsabha*, whether of a particular village or a collection of villages, was therefore essentially a feudal institution consisting of the *watandars*, the *mirasidars* and *qauldars* of the locality.

Accuracy of diacritical marks leaves nothing to be desired. A map of the Qutb Shahi dominion with roads and highways adds to the value of the book.

It may, however, be mentioned that at times the author's regional affiliations have coloured his assessment of some of the important events of the period. To cite one example, he regards the Mughal annexation of Berar in 1595 A.D. at the hands of Prince Murad as the defeat of the Mughals. His thesis is that since the Mughals wanted to caputre the entire Ahmadnagar kingdom, but had to remain contented with the annexation of Berar, annexation should be regarded as a defeat of the Mughals (pp. 271-72).

Footnotes have been given at the end of each Chapter, a practice which hinders smooth reading. On the whole the *History of the Qutb Shahi Dynasty* is a very valuable contribution to our knowledge of the medieval Deccan.

Rafi Ahmad Alavi

Diwan-i Siraji, poetical works of Saiyid Siraj ud-din Khurasani, known as *Siraji*, edited by Professor Nazir Ahmad, Aligarh Muslim University, 1972, pp. 626. with English Introduction, Price Rs. 40/- .

This critical edition of Siraji's *Diwan* has been prepared by Dr. Nazir Ahmad on the basis of two manuscripts : one available in the Habib Ganj collection of Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh and the other in the private collection of Prof. Nafici of Iran, now transferred to the Tehran University Library. A detailed critical introduction with copious notes further enhance the value of the edited text.

Siraji originally belonged to Khurasan but it appears from his *Diwan* that he spent the creative part of his life in Mukran and Hindustan. First he stayed at the court of the ruler of Mukran and later settled in Hindustan during the reign of Sultan Iltutmish.

The present *Diwan* contains 130 *qasidas* (panegyrics), one *musammat*, four *Tarkibs* and three *Tarji bands*, all containing about 4800 verses. But the study of the work reveals that Siraji was essentially a poet of *qasidas* which was the most important and popular branch of poetry in those days. His *qasidas* are characterised by originality and freshness of style. Other characteristic of his compositions is his love for artifices, similes and metaphors and the use of difficult rhymes. He says that he composed *qasidas* in such difficult rhymes that the poets of the world could hardly emulate him :

بدان قوافی مشکل چنان ثنائی تو گفت
که شاعران جهان ز آن شوند عاجز و عی

Apart from its literary value, the *diwan* throws important light on different aspects of the history and culture of medieval India. We find interesting information in his poems about the kingdom of Mukran that existed in the 12th and the 13th centuries. There are some good poems in the *diwan* composed in praise of the Sultans, princes and dignitaries of Mukran.

Minhaj-i-Siraj, the author of the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, refers to Sultan Taj-ud-din of Mukran as the noble of Sultan Ghiyas-uddin Muhammad bin Sam and Sultan Muhammad bin Sam.¹ But these references do not shed enough light on the position and resources of the ruler of Mukran.

But the *qasidas* composed by Siraji in praise of Sultan Tajuddin, Nusratuddin (brother of the Sultan,) other princes and the nobles of Mukran, help us in reconstructing the history of this local dynasty. For instance, Sultan Tajuddin was the King while Nusratuddin, his brother, shared power with him as his companion. This is indicative of the fact that they followed a rule like Hindu joint-family system in state matters—a fact to which Professor Mohd. Habib drew attention in his article on *Shihabuddin Muhammad Ghauri*, with reference to the Shansabanids. Sirai says :

تا جهان باشد بکام این دو شه بادا جهان
تاج دین بر تخت ملک و شاه نصرت همرش

(So long as as the world exists, it should be in accordance with the wishes of these two kings. May Tajuddin be on the throne of royalty and Nusratuddin his companion).

From Mukran Siraji migrated to Delhi during the reign of Sultan Iltutmish. Sultan Iltutmish, his princes and nobles were known for their large-hearted generosity and patronage to scholars and poets. His *qasidas* in praise of Prince Nasir uddin Mahmud, the eldest son of Sultan Iltutmish shows that he had arrived in Delhi before the death of the prince in 1228. These *qasidas* supplement Minhaj's account of Nasir-uddin Mahmud's achievements, especially his conquests in the eastern region of the Delhi Sultanate. Similarly, the *qasidas* composed in praise of Iltutmish's famous *Wazir*, Junaidi, his sons and other members of the illustrious family, throw valuable light on the position and status of the family during the early Turkish period. The members of the Junaidi family held key-positions in the administration of the Sultanate and were known for their munificence,

Dr. Nazir Ahmad deserves the gratitude of all students and scholars of Medieval Indian history for making available a very valuable source of information for the early history of the Turkish Sultans of Delhi. The copious notes in Persian and a critical introduction in English dealing with the life and times of the poet are particularly helpful.

Iqtidar Husain Siddiqi

1. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 82, 125

History of Medieval Deccan (1290-1724), Vol. I., P. 653,

Editor Prof. H. K. Sherwani, Joint Editor Dr. P. M. Joshi published by the Government of Andhra Pradesh, Price Rs. 110/-.

History of Medieval Deccan has so far received scant attention compared to northern India which has been the subject of a number of learned monographs dealing with political, administrative and cultural institutions. The present volume, therefore, is a very welcome addition to historical literature on the Deccan. The Government of Andhra Pradesh is to be congratulated for sponsoring a project for publishing the history of medieval Deccan in two volumes, the first dealing with the political and military aspects and the second devoted to cultural life of the region.

The present volume which deals with the political and military history of Medieval Deccan contains contributions from many eminent historians and has been ably edited by Professor H. K. Sherwani and Dr. P. M. Joshi. It takes into account the civil administration, military organisation, inter-state relations in peace and war and relations with the non-Deccan powers in India and abroad.

The first chapter which deals with the historical geography of the area, has been contributed by Dr. P. M. Joshi. It is very interesting and informative. It not only describes the physical geography of the area and its natural divisions, but points out in a very lucid manner the historical significance of various territorial divisions of the Deccan. It throws abundant light on the strategic significance of the numerous forts and fortresses and the role that they played during the course of this period. The ports of the area have been described and their commercial significance has been brought out.

The second chapter on the Khaljis and Tughluqs in the Deccan has been written by Dr. P.N. Joshi and Dr. A. Mahdi Husain. The value of this chapter lies, not so much in the use of Persian and Arabic sources, but in the considerable use of Marathi and Malayali sources which include inscriptions besides many contemporary documents of value. Surprisingly enough, the Devagiri project of Muhammad bin Tughluq has been dealt with in a very perfunctory manner and motives that lay behind the scheme have been very cursorily examined. It simply mentions: "It was to combat these centrifugal forces and to continue and consolidate his conquests in the Deccan and the far south that Muhammad bin Tughluq shifted his

head quarters to Devagiri in 1327 which became his second capital under the name Qubbatu'l-Islam (Dome of Islam) and "House of Prosperity", Daulatabad"; (p. 54). A reader of such a comprehensive treatise on the Deccan expected a fuller and more elaborate treatment of Muhammad bin Tughluq's Deccan project.

The political history of the Sultanate of Ma'bar has been reconstructed by Dr. S.A.Q. Husaini mainly on the basis of numismatic evidence. He has succeeded in throwing fresh light on the political history of this small kingdom. An interesting phenomenon which has been noticed by the learned author is the fact that "the change in the stock of the rulers is clearly marked by a corresponding change in the language of the legends on the coins. Up to the death of Adil Shah the legend on coins was inscribed in the Arabic language. Thereafter the Persian language was used for the purpose. We know that Bahman Shah claimed to have been descended from Bahman, son of Isfandar, the ancient ruler of Persia and it is quite natural that a relative of his should adopt the Persian language." (P. 68).

As there are gaps in the chronology of the coins, lacunae occur in the narration of the political history of this kingdom. Discovery of more coins and new source material may eventually fill up these lacunae.

The thesis presented by Dr. Subrahmanyam in his chapter on Vijayanagar, that the turmoil in the Deccan after Muhammad bin Tughluq's return from the south to quell Kishlu Khan's revolt in Sindh was firstly because of the vast devastation caused by the northerners and their tyrannical rule, and, secondly, because of the revivalist movements in the Deccan, appears to be nearer the truth. According to him the causes for this revolt were more cultural than political. He writes: "So long as the Muslim conquerors did not interfere with the religious and social institutions there was little trouble. The Hindus were not unaccustomed to changes in the ruling dynasties and always accepted the new masters who acquired power merely for political purposes. But when they felt that their way of life was being affected by these strangers there was a revival of militant Saivism in the Andhra area. The leader of this revival was the Musunuri family who were great devotees of Siva. Prolaya and Kapaya upheld the traditional Brahmanical sacrificial cult, restored to the Brahmins their agraharas, and order on the basis of *Varma* and *Ashrama* in the social set-up of the community. It is not unlikely that the teachers of the *Pasupata* school of *Acharyas* and *Rajagurus* who had great hold on princes and people alike, worked hand in glove with them to bring under their banner like-minded chieftains. All classes joined their war of liberation and fought with equal zeal and enthusiasm. Ekasilanagara or Wara-

ngal, the erstwhile capital of the Kakatiyas which had been occupied by the Sultans after the fall of Prataparudra, became once again the centre of activity of the Musunuri family." (P. 81). He has very ably supported his thesis with contemporary Telugu accounts and epigraphic evidence.

Controversies regarding the origin of the founders of Vijayanagar empire and the circumstances under which the city of Vijayanagar came into existence have been very ably discussed by Dr. P. B. Desai. He has set aside all the theories propounded by the scholars so far. A scrutiny of the epigraphical and literary sources bearing on the episode of Harihar and Bukka has led the learned author to conclude that it was a myth. No such officers ever existed in the service of the Kampili chief. He points out that the *Vidyaranya Kalajnana* contains no reference to the conversion of the two brothers to Islam. He does not believe in the statements of Isami, Ibn-i-Battuta and Barani because, according to him, they were illinformed and belonged to the other camp. As against all this, the epigraphical evidence has been put forward in clear terms and convincingly. According to this evidence Sangama belonged the province of Karnatak, being a native of the Hampi region. His son Harihara started his career as a trusted officer under the Hoysala Ballala III. He rose in importance due to his signal services in throwing out the enemy from the southern provinces. Ultimately he founded the new kingdom of Vijayanagar.

The difficult problem of the chronology of different dynasties that ruled over the Vijayanagar Empire has also been solved. The genealogical table given by Robert Sewell has been revised in view of new epigraphical and literary data. The *Kalajnana* texts, one attributed to *Vidyaranya*, other to *Sivayya* and a third to *Viapayya*, supplemented by data from *Keladinripavijam*, *Vijayanagara Samrajyanu*, and the *Kaviles* of Gorakallu and the *attava* prepared at the instance of Venkata II have served as very useful source material in determining the duration of the king's rule. The author has rightly suspected an alliance between the Bahmani ruler Firuz Shah and the Reddi ruler Peda Komati Vema for the invasion of Vijayanagar empire in 1406. He has based his conclusions on *Velugotivarivamsavali*. The theory given by many scholars who based themselves on Gangdhar, that the invasion of Vijayanagar Empire after the death of Devaraya II was an organised confederacy between the contemporary Bahmani Sultan Alauddin Ahmad II and the Gajapati ruler of Orissa has been disproved. On the authority of Nikitin, the Russian traveller and several epigraphical evidences he has established that it was merely a coincidence and nothing else.

During the reign of Sadasiva (1544-1572), the author has pointed

out, there was a deviation in the traditional policy towards the Muslim kingdoms. Vijayanagar had never interfered in their internal affairs. Ramaraj, the powerful minister of Sadasiva, was the first to entangle himself in the inter-state policies of those kingdoms and throughout his career he is shown busy in setting one against the other and establishing his hegemony. He puts the blame for the confederacy organized by the Muslim kingdom against the Vijayanagar empire solely on this faulty policy of Ramaraj.

The chapter on the Bahmanis by Professor Sherwani is an improvement on his book of the same title. The entire available material has been carefully sifted and condensed here. New sources and other writings have also been taken into account. Apart from inter-state relations, the court-intrigues, internal dissensions, the administration and the cultural aspects have also been dealt with. The Appendix on social and economic life is very interesting and informative. Apart from Persian works interesting information has been culled from Marathi and Telugu sources.

New facts about the social and economic conditions during the Bahmanids have come to light for the first time and the reader feels enlightened and better informed on these aspects.

Dr. Radhey Shyam, in his chapter on Nizam Shahis, has not repeated what he has already written in his book dealing with the same subject. He has discussed in detail the internecine conflicts and the activities of the pressure-groups. He has written the political history of the kingdom down to its fall and ultimate capture by the Mughals in 1636 with minute care. Apart from the Persian sources, he has used Marathi sources also. But the use of Marathi sources is not as extensive as that of the Persian sources.

The section on the Imad Shahis by the same author may be said to be a step towards fulfilment of a long felt need. The author deserves commendation for presenting the political history of that small kingdom with great care and lucidity.

The chapter on Adil Shahis and Baridis by Dr. P. M. Joshi contains a detailed account of not only the political history of those kingdoms but also of the social, cultural and economic conditions prevailing there. He has utilised not only the sources in Persian and regional languages but also in Portuguese. Relations of the Bijapur kingdom with the Portuguese and the Mughals have been dealt with in detail. Going through the pages of this chapter one comes to realise the impact of the Portuguese and the Mughals on the subsequent history of the Deccan in all its aspects

political, social, cultural and economic. The inter-state relations, particularly the expansionist activities of the of Adil Shahi rulers, and the part played by the Marathas have been dealt with in detail. It enables the reader to have a glimpse of the Adil Shani and the Barid Shahi kingdoms.

The chapter on Qutb Shahis of Golconda by Professor Sherwani deals more with the social, cultural and economic conditions in the kingdom than with its political history. The inter-state relations, foreign policy, not only in the context of other states of India but also of Persia, relations with the Europeans, Portuguese, English, French and the Dutch administration — central and provincial, military organisation, coinage, products and manufactures, weights and measures, articles of trade, textiles, price - levels, sea and land routes, means of communications, architecture, cultural activities and other aspects of history have been dealt with by him.

The chapter on Khandesh by Dr. P. M. Joshi presents a good study of the geography of Khandesh as well as of her relations with the neighbouring states. One learns about the ingratitude of Malik Raja, the founder of this kingdom towards Firuz Tughluq, about the treachery of Nasir Khan with Asa Ahir of Asirgarh who was a benefactor of his father Malik Raja, and also the details of the capture of Khandesh by Akbar in 1601.

The next chapter on the Reddi kingdom of Kondavidu and other minor states by Dr. Ramesan, is valuable because of his utilisation of a large number of inscriptions, literary and traditional accounts in Sanskrit and Telugu, apart from Russian, Portuguese and Persian sources.

The chapter on the Marathas by Dr. Kulkarni discusses the rise of Maratha power with its historical background. The significance of the battle of Bhatwadi has been explained, the controversy regarding Afzal Khan has been solved; the military organisation, the provincial and central administration and the economic policies have been discussed. But the real merit of the chapter lies in the discussion of Shivaji's relations with the Portuguese, the English, the French and the Dutch.

The last chapter on the Mughals in the Deccan by Professor Sujana Lal is brief and disappointing. The account is based mainly on modern works.

The book contains a number of historical maps and genealogical tables of all the dynasties that ruled Medieval Deccan.

Barring a few shortcomings here and there, it can safely be said

that the book is a valuable addition to the collection of books on Medieval Indian history. It has fulfilled a long felt need and is a must for the scholars and students of Medieval Deccan.

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